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"THE MYSORE-MARATHA RELATIONS

IN THE 17TH CENTURY".

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DECLARATION

onsequent upon the award of the Government of Ind research scholarship in Humanities in April 1957 Ias able to write this thesis entitled "THE MYSORBARATHA RELATIONS IN THE 17TH CENTURY". This is theesult of my own study and research under the guidan of Dr.B.Sheik Ali, M.A., Ph.D.(Aligarh), Ph.D. (Lond) Professor and Head of the Department of History, Manasagangothri, Mysore and is not submitted to any other niversity for any other degree.

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PREFACE

Mysore came into contact with the Marathas in the 17th century. The decline of the Vijayanagar empire created a political vacuum in the Karnatak. The Mysore Rajas and the Marathas strove hard to fill up the vacuum. They fought with each other for more than half a century for power. Mysore stood as an obstacle to the Maratha expansion in the Karnatak and like wise the principality of Bangalore which came under Shahji in 1638 resisted the Mysore expansion in the north and north-east. The result was that both powers were involved in unending rivalries and relentless wars.

The problems of the Mysore-Maratha relations in the 17th century have not received proper attention from the scholars. Eminent Maratha historians such as Rajawade, G.S.Sardesai and J.N.Sarkar who have dealt with the history of the Marathas, have not fully utilised the contemporary Kannada sources - literary and epigraphic - which contain much useful data. Scholars on Mysore history such as Wilks and Hayavadana Rao who have examined the political and military aspects of Mysore history have not thrown full light on the relations of Mysore with the Marathas. Wilks was the British resident at the court of Mysore (1803 - 1808) and his work entitled, "Historical Sketches of South India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore" was written in 1810. His main object was to trace the history of Mysore in the 18th century and as such his study on the problems of the 17th century is very

sketchy. Moreover, a lot of fresh material has been brought to light since he wrote in 1810. In the general histories of South India written by Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Prof.K.A.Nilakanta Sastri and others, Mysore has not received sufficient attention. Although Hayavadana Rao's works are sufficiently copious on the history of Mysore, the ground he has covered is too vast to bring out the relations of Mysore with the Marathas in their correct perspective. Therefore, this study is an attempt to fill the gap.

This study is classified into five chapters each dealing with the relations of the five Maratha leaders, Shahji, Ekoji, Shivaji, Sambhaji and Rajaram with the Rajas of Mysore. This work is mainly based on the contemporary Kannada sources, literary and epigraphic. An attempt has been made to throw some new light on several problems pertaining to the rise of Shahji in Bangalore, his constant conflicts with the rulers of Mysore, Ekoji's wars with Mysore, Sambhaji's Governorship over the Karnatak territories, Shivaji's Mysore invasion, Sambhaji's invasions of, and Rajaram's relations with Mysore. The frequent Karnatak expeditions organised by the Bijapur Sultans, the role of the Karnatak chieftains, the delicate position of Sriranga Raya(the last Vijayanagar emperor) in the 17th century political set up, the abilities of the Mysore Rajas, the ambition of the Maratha generals and the Mughal intervention in the affairs of the south wielded a great influence on the Mysore-Maratha relations. These factors are closely examined in the study.

The award of a scholarship in Humanities by the Union Ministry of Education has enabled me to undertake this study, for which I am highly thankful to them. I am equally thankful to the Mysore University who relieved me of teaching work for two years to do research. I am highly indebted to Dr. B. Sheik Ali, Professor and Head of the Department of Post-graduate Studies and Research in History, Manasa Gangothri, Mysore for guiding me throughout the work. His advice was of immense value to me at every stage in preparing this thesis. I thank Dr.S.Srikanta Sastri, retired Professor of History, University of Mysore, for his encouragement to undertake the work. My thanks are due to the Librarian, University Library, Mysore and the Director, Oriental Research Institute, Mysore for having provided me with all the necessary facilities for research work. I thank the authorities of the Deccan College, Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, Bharata Ithihasa Samshodak Mandal, Poona, Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar for their permission to consult the original records in their possession.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in citing references:

Annals	....	Annals of the Mysore Royal Family.
K.N.V.	....	Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam.
Ke.N.V.	....	Keladi Nripa Vijaya.
C.Vam.	....	Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali.
C.Bin.	....	Chikkadevaraja Binnapam.
C.Vij.	....	Chikkadevaraja Vijayam.
Mys. Dho. Vam.	....	Mysuru Dhoregala Vamsavali.
Mys. Dho. Pur.	....	Mysuru Dhoregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara.
M.N. in Shiv. Nib.	....	Muhammad Nama in Shivaji Nibandhavali, Part II.
E.C.	....	Epigraphia Carnatica.
M.A.R.	....	Mysore Archaeological Report.
J.I.H.	....	Journal of Indian History.
I.H.R.C.P.	....	Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings.
Q.J.M.S.	....	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.
N.H.M.	....	New History of the Marathas.
A.H.M.P.	....	A History of the Maratha People.
Mys.Raj.Cha.	....	Mysoru Rajara Charitre.

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INTRODUCTION

A background to the events that preceeded the closer contact of the Mysore rulers with the Marathas seems to be necessary. The breakdown of the Vijayanagar empire created a great confusion in the Karnatak in the 17th Century. Among those that rose into prominence during this period were the rulers of Mysore and the Marathas. Prior to 1638 the Mysore rulers had very little contact with the Marathas. This was just a period when Mysore was shaping itself into a powerful kingdom. By following a cautious policy Raja Wodeyar (1578-1617) elevated a small chieftainship of 33 villages to the rank of a kingdom.[1] From 1598 to 1610 he had systematically defied the authority of Tirumala, the Vijayanagar Viceroy of Srirangapatna (1585-1610) by encroaching upon his territories and in 1610 he occupied Srirangapatna itself by removing the Viceroy.[2] During the reign of Chamaraja Wodeyar (1617-1637), successor of Raja Wodeyar, a significant event happened which brought the Mysore rulers into close contact with Bijapur Sultan through whom in later years the Marathas came into still closer contact in the region of the Karnatak. The fortress of Nagamangala, in Mandya District, then under the control of a Governor, Channaiya, was besieged by Bettada Arasu, the Mysore Dalvoy. During the siege, Doddaiya, brother of Channaiya who

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1. Mys. Dho. Vam., pp. 6-7.
2. C.Vam., pp. 48-49; K.N.V., III, Vs. 95-96; Mys. Raj.Cha., p.19; Annals, I. pp. 29-30; Divyasuri Charite, XII, V.72; Kamandaka Niti, I. p. 54; Paschimaranga Mahatmya, I. 34; Hastigiri Mahatmya, I. 52; Epigraphia Carnatica, Bangalore District Supplemental Vol. BN.144. ~~144~~, II. 9-12; Vol. III (Sr.14, 11. 17-18; Mys.Dis.Sup. Mys.115, 11. 29-30.

commanded the Nagamangala army was defeated and killed.[1] However, the siege was raised by Jagadeva Raya in 1618. Doddaiya's death was a terrible shock to Channaiya. He resolved to wreak vengeance upon the Mysore ruler but he had neither men nor money. In that condition he was left with no other alternative except appealing to the Sultan of Bijapur for military assistance. He went to the Court of Muhammad Adil Shah (1626-1656) and induced him to undertake an expedition to the Karnatak. It was in this Karnatak campaign that Shahji along with several Maratha generals descended to the south and played a vital role in the changing politics of Mysore. Thus Channaiya was a link in the Mysore-Maratha relations.[2] Another event of great importance during Chamaraja Wodeyar's reign was the incorporation of Channapatna principality into the kingdom of Mysore in 1630.[3] Before coming into armed conflict with Shahji, Mysore was evolved itself into a powerful kingdom consisting of Channapatna and Nagamangala on the north, Piriyapatna and Channaravapatna in the West and north-west, Malavalli and Dhanayakanakote in the east and southeast. Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar ascended the throne of Mysore in 1638.[4] In the very first year of his reign, he had to defend his capital against the formidable invasion led by Ranadulla Khan and Shahji

1. Annals, I. p. 51; C. Vam., p.34; Mys. Dho. Pur., II. 7.
2. Annals, I. 53-54; Mys. Dho. Vam., p. 22.
3. Ibid., p. 51; C. Vam., p.34; Mys. Dho. Pur., II. p. 7.
4. Mys. Dho. Pur., I. p.51; Annals, I, p.65. Rajavali Kathe by Devachandra (XII, p.470) fixes Kanthirava's accession in May 1635 which is apparently an error. Devachandra's work is a 19th Century product and he does not seem to have been careful in regard to the date of the events.

the Bijapur generals. Thus Mysore was evolved itself into a powerful kingdom under Raja Wodeyar and Chamaraja Wodeyar.

It was also in this period that Bijapur and Golkonda began to take keen interest in the affairs of the south. A partition treaty was signed in 1636 between Shahjahan, the Mughal emperor and the two Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda, according to which the latter could extend their schemes of conquest only to the south. It was after this arrangement that Shahji entered the Bijapur service and his entry coincided with the Bijapur activities in the Karnatak.[1] The two Sultans adopted that policy not so much because they wanted to honour the terms of the treaty but because they were afraid of the formidable Mughal power in the north. Further they wanted to make good their loss of territories in the north by carrying out fresh expansion in the south. With this end in view they entered into an agreement for the conquest of the Karnatak, the Western portions going to Bijapur and the eastern ones to Golkonda. Consequently the Karnatak was troubled by their periodic invasions.

The second Karnatak expedition of 1638 set the stage for the Mysore-Maratha relations. The first Karnatak expedition against Ikkeri, (now a decadent town in Shimoga District) in 1637 prepared the ground for Shahji to establish Maratha power in the south. This expedition did not come up to Mysore and consequently

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1. M.N. in Shiv.Nib., Part II. pp. 90-96.

the Mysore-Maratha contact was postponed to the subsequent year. The first Karnatak expedition was the result of the personal rivalries between Hanumappa Nayak of Basavapatna, Venkatappa of Tarikere on the one hand and Virabhadra Nayak of Ikkeri on the other.[1] Shahji and Ranadulla Khan who commanded the Bijapur army succeeded in defeating the Ikkeri Nayak and collecting from him 18 lakhs of huns (Rs.54 lakhs) in addition to half of his territory.[2]

Shahji gained experience by participating in this first Karnatak expedition. He was particularly friendly to Ranadulla Khan, an influential general in the Bijapur Court. This personal friendship helped Shahji in securing the assignment of Bangalore in the Karnatak. Thus the first Karnatak expedition prepared the ground for the establishment of Maratha power in the Karnatak and the second brought about the Mysore-Maratha contact.

Shahji founded the Maratha principality at Bangalore in 1638 and spent the latter part of his life (1638-1664) in the Karnatak taking active part in the changing politics of Mysore. The Bangalore principality gradually increased in power and extent and for more than half a century it stemmed the tide of Mysore expansion in the north. The Mysore-Maratha rivalry started in 1638 when Shahji and Kanthirava stood face to face on the soil of

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1. K.N.V., XI Vs. . 1-2; Annals, I. p. 72; Ke. N.V., p. 97.
2. M.N. in Shiv. Nib., II. p. 96.

Srirangapatna. Shahji maintained the hostile relations with Mysore till his death in 1664. Therefore, the history of Shahji in the Karnatak for twenty six years (1638-1664) is nothing but a record of continuing wars and mutual rivalry between the Marathas and the Rajas of Mysore. Ekoji who came to power in 1664 renewed the traditional policy of hostility towards Mysore. The same undercurrent of hostility and mutual discord continued between the two powers during the time of Shivaji, Sambhaji and Rajaram. On the whole the sixty year history of the Mysore-Maratha relations (1638-1698) during the life time of the four Maratha leaders is nothing but a record of unending rivalry and relentless wars as revealed in the contemporary Kannada sources. Several factors affected the Mysore-Maratha relations. Chief among them were the frequent Karnatak expeditions organised by the Bijapur Sultan, the attitude of the local chieftains, the delicate relations of Sriranga Raya, the last ruler of the decadent Vijayanagar empire, the intervention of the Mughals in the affairs of the Karnatak, the ambition of the Rajas of Mysore and the Marathas, the abilities of the Mysore Rajas and the role of the Maratha generals.

First, Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur planned a series of expeditions to the Karnatak from 1637 to 1656. He sent expeditions in the autumn of the year from his capital to the nearest Hindu States across the frontier. As there was no sense of unity among the chieftains of the Karnatak, they were subdued with the assistance of their own neighbours. The victors returned to their

capitals before the commencement of the rainy season, laden with plunder of the forts and the promise of tribute. The Sultan followed a deliberate policy of conquest and consolidation of territories in the Karnatak. It appeared to him that his adventure in the south would be both practicable and profitable. The fabulous wealth of the Karnatak made him adopt such a policy. He planned eight major expeditions during his life time and every expedition brought him the expected treasures.[1] In all these expeditions the Marathas such as Shahji, Vedoji, Kannoji, Raghava Pandit and others participated occupying important places in the rank of the Bijapur army. The second Karnatak expedition secured Bangalore for Shahji.[2] The subsequent expeditions strengthened and enlarged Shahji's principality with the additions of the new Karnatak territories and contributed to widen the gulf between the Mysore rulers and the Marathas. Shahji had to fight against Mysore more at the instance of his overlord at Bijapur than at his own accord. As the relations between Mysore and Bijapur were not cordial, the relations between Mysore and the Marathas were bound to be unfriendly. Shahji assumed a tone of independence in his relations with Mysore because the Bijapur government exercised very little or no power over its distant territorial possessions. Bijapur declined after 1656 and this made Shahji still more powerful than before. He was independent in all but in name. Thus the frequent Karnatak expeditions wielded a great influence on the

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1. Annals, I. pp. 85-86; K.N.V., Chapters XI - XIX; M.N. in Shiv. Nib.,

2 K.N.V., XI. V.66.

Mysore-Maratha relations during the time of Shahji.

Secondly, the local chieftains were the disturbing factors in the relations of Mysore with the Marathas. They were selfish and unimaginative. They were always at war with one another. One's difficulty was another's opportunity. Their personal rivalries and territorial aggrandisement threw the whole atmosphere of the Karnatak into great confusion. The presence of numerous principalities added to the confusion. Such of the rulers as were unable to put down their immediate neighbours with all the powers at their disposal, desired the immediate assistance of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda. In the words of Proenza, "The old kings of this country appear, by their jealousies and imprudent action, to invite the conquest of their entire country by the Muslims".[1] An appeal from a Karnatak chieftain was enough for the Sultans to send an expedition to the south. Channaiya of Nagamangala, Hanumappa Nayak of Basavapatna, the Chieftains of Tarikere and Bagur were responsible for the Karnatak expeditions which brought about the Mysore-Maratha relations. The subjugated vassal of Mysore, Nanjundaraja of Piriyapatna revolted and paved the way for Shahji's fight with Kanthirava.[2] Shahji followed a cautious policy in his relations with the Karnatak chieftains. His enlarged territories, separate civil administration and military

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1. La Mission Du Madure, III. 42.

2. K.N.V., XVIII, Vs. 20-182; C.Vam., p.59; C.Vij., II. 135-136; Annals, I. p. 71; Mys. Raj. Cha. p. 23.

establishments at Bangalore, far away from Bijapur, in those days of difficult communications, made him adopt such a cautious policy. He allied himself with those that would support him in his adventure. A large number of his allies were those that had suffered at the hands of the Mysore rulers. Many of his battles against Mysore were fought either with the assistance of the Karnatak chieftains or in close contact with the Bijapur generals. Narasimah Nayak of Hole Narasipur, Mummadi Kempegowda of Bangalore and the Nayaks of Bednur spoiled the relations of Mysore with the Marathas. The wars of 1644, 1646, 1648, 1652 and others between Kanthirava and Shahji were mainly due to the work of the Karnatak chieftains. The subsequent relations between Shivaji and Chikkadevaraja of Mysore were strained on account of the chieftains of Morasa, Tigula, Kodaga and Malavala regions.[1] Sambhaji in his two devastating wars against Mysore was actively supported by the Nayak of Bednur.[2] Rajaram too received active assistance from the queen of Bednur during his flight to Gingee.[3] Thus the local chieftains destroyed all hopes of reconciling the Mysore rajas to the stay of the Marathas in the South in the 17th century as revealed in the Kannada sources.

Thirdly, Sriranga Raya's relations with both powers of Mysore and the Marathas were delicate. He was anxious to

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1. A.V.C., I. p. 30.
2. E.C. III (1) Sr. 14. p. 11; A.V.C., III. p. 21.
3. Ke. N.V., IX. V. 82.

retrieve the past glory of the decadent Vijayanagar empire. To realise his ambition, he was ready to cooperate with his feudatories or with any other power which would help him. But to his ill-luck, his own feudatories were his enemies. The Karnatak expedition of 1646 provided an opportunity for Shahji to help Sriranga Raya but he was duped by the vacillating policy of Sriranga Raya. When Mustafa Khan refused to accept the peace-offerings which Venkaiya Somayaji, the envoy of Sriranga Raya had brought to purchase the retreat of the Bijapur army from the environs of Vellore, it was Shahji who mediated and effected a compromise between his army chief and the envoy. But for Shahji, the reconciliation would have been impossible. But Shahji's efforts proved futile when Venkaiya Somayaji intrigued against Mustafa Khan and brought about the war between Sriranga Raya and the Bijapuris.[1] Kanthirava did not cooperate with Sriranga Raya and the latter did not join hands with Shahji, with the result Sriranga Raya neither gained anything for himself nor pleased either Kanthirava or Shahji. After 1646 the position of Sriranga Raya became still worse. The three Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee made him a wanderer without a habitation. Spending four months in the forest of Tanjore, "the grand monarch one of the richest in India, was forced to beg help from the king of Mysore once the vassal of the crown".[2] Kanthirava offered him shelter and made him stay in Mysore for two years (1650-1652).[3]

1. M.N. in Shiv. Nib., II, pp. 113-114.
2. Bertrand: La Mission Du Madure, III, pp. 43-44.
3. Mysuru Rajara Charitre, p. 24.

Sriranga Raya and Kanthirava allied with the Nawab of Sira and recommenced the conquest of Jagadeva Raya's territories. This brought Shahji along with Khan Muhammad once again to Vellore. Shahji fought against them more vigorously than before, for, first, he was offended by Sriranga Raya, secondly, Sriranga Raya joined Kanthirava, the opponent of the Marathas and lastly, Sriranga Raya encroached upon Bijapur's zone of influence in Jagadeva Raya's territories. In two military operations, one in Jagadeva Raya's territory and another in Mysore, Shahji and Khan Muhammad defeated Sriranga Raya and his allies. Thus the inconsistent policy of Sriranga Raya never brought the two powers closer together during the time of Shahji.

Fourthly, the Mughals intervened in the affairs of Mysore and acted as a serious block in the way of improving the relations of Mysore with Sambhaji and Rajaram. Aurangzeb, the Mughal emperor descended to the Deccan and took up his seat at Aurangabad directing his attack against the Marathas. Chikkadevaraja sought the support of Aurangzeb to promote his own interest. Aurangzeb's contact was a necessity for Chikkadevaraja because he was the only strong power in the north. Aurangzeb and Chikkadevaraja exerted strenuously for the destruction of the Marathas. The Mysore Raja supported Aurangzeb in reducing Bijapur, a kingdom which had offered shelter to several Maratha generals including Shahji.[1] The Mysore-Mughal understanding was viewed with grave

1. C. Bin., p. 4.

concern by the Marathas and it became the main reason for Sambhaji's second Mysore war of 1686.[1] In 1687 Chikkadevaraja purchased Bangalore for three lakhs of rupees from the hands of Khasim Khan, the Mughal general and incorporated it into the kingdom of Mysore.[2] Bangalore which had remained a principal centre of the Maratha activities in the Karnatak since 1638 was lost to the Marathas in 1687. This led to the invasion of Mysore by Keshav Pant and Santaji, the Maratha generals. Chikkadevaraja knew that both the Mughals and the Marathas were dangerous persons. He never wished to dethrone the Marathas and enthrone the Mughals in the Karnatak. By the Mughal friendship, he could create awe in the minds of the petty chieftains, arrest the Maratha progress and make himself a strong military power in the south. His sending of an embassy to the Mughal court was a diplomatic move designed to cement the friendship of the emperor.[3] If the Marathas were prepared to accommodate matters with Mysore, Chikkadevaraja was not worried about the Mughal friendship. Thus the Mughals remained a disturbing factor in the Mysore-Maratha relations of the 17th century.

Fifthly, the ambition of both powers to overpower each other stood as a great barrier in the relations of Mysore rulers with the Marathas. Both powers were ambitious to enlarge their respective territories and to earn name and fame. Both followed

1. La Mission Du Madure, III. p. 377.
2. Annals, I, p. 110; Imperial Gazetteer, Mysore and Coorg, p.21.
3. Ibid., p. 142.

a policy of conquest and consolidation of territories. Both seized the heritage of the shattered Vijayanagar empire and longed to fill up the political vacuum caused by the disintegration of the empire. Kanthirava Narasaraja, Doddadevaraja and Chikkadevaraja, by their ambitious schemes of expansion, had enlarged the Mysore kingdom and had made it so strong as to withstand all Maratha invasions of the 17th century. In the same way, Shahji who "was the cleverest and the most ambitious" man took possession of Bangalore from the hands of Kempe Gowda and with the assistance of his over lord, Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur, enlarged his Bangalore jagir with the additions of Sira, Tumkur, Chikkanayakanahalli, Kolar, Doddaballapur and others so as to make it a formidable bulwark against Mysore invasions.[1] Ekoji, Shivaji, Sambhaji and Rajaram laboured not a little to build up a Maharashtra principality in the Karnatak. Both were hostile and the basis of their hostility was their ambition. For sixty years the rulers of Mysore and the Marathas flourished side by side, although between them a spirit of rivalry and mutual aggression continued all the time. Thus the ambition of both to overwhelm each other stood in the way of improving the relations of Mysore with the Marathas.

Sixthly, the personal abilities of the Mysore rulers wielded a great influence on their relations with the Marathas. They were strong in mind, bold in action and enterprising in

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1 K.N.V., XI. V.66; Annals, I. pp. 85-86; Mys. Dho. Pur., I, p.66; Mys. Dho. Vam., pp. 37-38.

spirit. Kanthirava knew horse-riding, elephant-riding, archery and the use of various kinds of weapons such as spear, lance, dagger, club, sword and discus.[1] As a prince he distinguished himself as a champion-wrestler.[2] Chikkadevaraja was trained in gymnastics, archery and swordsmanship.[3] In politics he exhibited qualities of statesmanship and diplomacy. The Mysore rulers of the 17th century were used to both camp and court. Unlike the rulers of the 18th century, they led the army to the fields of battle, designed strategy, conducted military operations along with their Dalvoys and obtained the direct knowledge of the warfare. Their favourite method of warfare was to deliver night attacks and to surprise the enemies.[4] As they were proficient in political matters and military operations, they were bound to play a vital role in the changing politics of the 17th century. The Marathas interfered in the affairs of the Karnatak and began to fight for power. Naturally, the relations between the two contesting powers would not be easy.

Lastly, the Maratha generals such as Vedoji Pant, Anantoji, Raghav Pandit, Ekoji, Sambhaji, Santoji, and Harji Mahadik were men of abilities and courage. They worked for the

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1. K.N.V., IV. Vs. 84-86.
2. Annals, I. pp. 66-67.
3. C.Vam., p. 166.
4. A study of the Kannada sources reveals that surprise night attacks and the cutting of the noses of the enemies were the special features of the Mysore warfare and that several expeditions were launched against the enemies not for territories to conquer but for noses to cut. But cutting of noses cannot be considered a part of warfare. It is an act of cruelty, often indulged in by the victors with a view to terrorising the enemy.

Maratha greatness in the Karnatak. They supported Shahji, Shivaji, Sambhaji and Rajaram in their Karnatak wars and served the Maratha cause loyally by acting as governors at different places of the Karnatak. The Kannada sources, epigraphic and literary, throw a flood of light on their activities in the Karnatak. Some of the historical materials not supplied by the Marathi sources, concerning these generals, are found in the contemporary Kannada sources. Consequent upon the Mughal danger, Sambhaji and Rajaram could not pay personal attention to the affairs of the Karnatak. They appointed Maratha generals to look after the Maratha territories in the Karnatak. Harji Mahadik and Santaji who were sent to the Karnatak, were men of courage and ability. Harji supported Sambhaji in his two wars against Mysore and stood as a great barrier in the expansion of Mysore in the south. Santaji troubled Mysore by his invasions. With such Marathas of ability and high calibre, the relations of Mysore are bound to be strained. Thus the frequent Karnatak expeditions organised by the Bijapur Sultan, the disturbing activities of the enterprising chieftains in the Karnatak, the delicate relations of Sriranga Raya with the contending powers of the south, the Mughal intervention in the affairs of the Karnatak, the ambition of the Mysore rulers and the Marathas to enlarge their territories and their personal abilities were the important factors that stood in the way of better relations between Mysore and the Marathas during the time of Shahji, Shivaji, Sambhaji and Rajaram as revealed in the contemporary

Kannada sources.

Since this study has been mainly based upon the Kannada sources a little closer examination of them is necessary. The Kannada sources of the 17th and 18th centuries throw light on the rulers of the decadent Vijayanagar empire, Rajas of Mysore, the expansionist policy of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda and the activities of the Marathas and several other south Indian Chieftains.

The Kannada sources can broadly be divided into two groups, literary and epigraphical. The important literary sources are from Govinda Vaidya, Tirumalarya, Chikkadevaraja and Linganna Kavi. Although these are the poetical compositions, yet they have the merit of supplying the necessary historical data for the history of South India in general and Karnatak in particular.

Among the primary works are: 1) Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam, 2) Apratima Vira Charitam, 3) Chikkadevaraja Binnapam, 4) Keladi Nripa Vijayam, 5) Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali and 6) Chikkadevaraja Vijayam.

KANTHIRAVA NARASARAJA VIJAYAM: written by Govinda Vaidya in 1648 is a contemporary quasi-historical work.[1] This work has not been translated into any other language. It throws welcome light

1. Mysore Oriental Library, Kannada Series, No.15, Mysore, 1926.

on the intentions of the Bijapur Sultan in organising frequent Karnatak expeditions, the works of the Bijapur generals such as Ranadulla Khan, Afzal Khan, Mustafa Khan, Khan Muhammad, Shahji, Anantoji, Raghava Pandit, Veddji, Kannoji and others in the Karnatak. It also supplies us with information regarding the grant of Bangalore to Shahji, the strength of the Bijapur army that the Maratha generals commanded in the second Karnatak expedition of 1638, the war between Kanthirava Narasaraja and the Bijapur generals on the environs of Srirangapatna, the existence of the Maratha power in the Karnatak and the conflict between the Marathas and the ruler of Mysore.

<u>APPATIMA VIRA CHARITAM</u>: written by Tirumalarya, the playmate and Prime Minister of Chikkadevaraja Wodevar of Mysore is a very useful source for the study of the Mysore-Maratha relations.[1] Although it is a treatise in four parts on poetics (Alankara) written at the instance of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar sometime between 1694 and 1695, it is a very valuable source. It is so styled because Chikkadevaraja assumed the title, "Apratima Vira" (Unparalleled hero), after having subdued Shivaji, the famous Maratha in the battle of Srirangapatna. It throws welcome light on the relations of Chikkadevaraja with his contemporaries such as the Nayaks of Madura, Bednur, Marathas and the Mughals. It explains not only the relations that existed between the Marathas and Chikkadevaraja during the time of Shivaji but also mentions the

1. Karnataka Kavya Manjari Series, Second Edition, Mysore, 1931.

wars between Ekoji and Chikkadevaraja.

CHIKKADEVARAJA BINNAPAM (1700-1704): written by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar himself is an important source of information.[1] Although it concerns itself with the essence of Srivaishnava Philosophy, the opening chapter is very valuable because it deals with the political achievements of Chikkadevaraja. It describes the circumstances that led to Shivaji's invasion of Mysore, the contest between Shivaji and Chikkadevaraja near Srirangapatna and the ultimate conclusion of the war between the two powers. It makes references to Shivaji's relations both with Aurangzeb and Qutb Shah of Golkonda. Apart from that, it throws light on the devastating expeditions undertaken by Sambhaji against Mysore and the political relations between Sambhaji and Chikkadevaraja. Ekoji's part in the Karnatak politics especially in the affairs of Mysore is also dealt with in this work. On the whole it forms the main source of information for the study of the Mysore-Maratha relations during the times of Shivaji, Sambhaji and Ekoji.

Another Kannada source which merits our attention is KELADI NRIPA VIJAYAM written by Linganna Kavi of the 18th century.[2] He narrates the historical events from the inception of the Nayakship at Ikkeri down to 1763. Of all the Chapters, the 9th Chapter is very important because it deals with the Mughal, Maratha, Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi dynasties which took active part to fish

1. Karnataka Kavya Kalanidhi Series, No.15, Mysore, 1905.
2. Mysore Oriental Library Kannada Series No.9, Mysore, 1921.

in the troubled sea of the Karnatak politics. The extensive use of the materials to explain the activities of the Marathas and Mughals in the Karnatak and their relations with the Mysore Rajas indicates the indispensable use of this source for this study.

CHIKKADEVARAJA VAMSAVALI: written by Tirumalarya, the Prime Minister of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar of Mysore, is a prose work.[1] It deals with the rise and fortunes of the Mysore Royal Family down to Chikkadevaraja. Since it was written sometime between 1678 and 1680, it throws, some light on the most important events of the 17th century such as the Karnatak invasion of Ranadulla Khan and Shahji, the emergence of Mysore as a powerful state under Raja Wodeyar, Chamaraja Wodeyar and Kanthirava Narasaraja, the early career of Chikkadevaraja and the relations of Mysore with the neighbouring powers. Its chief merit consists in giving a connecting account of the rulers of Mysore with the powerful chieftains of the Karnatak who were trying to secure the heritage of the shattered Vijayanagar empire.

CHIKKADEVARAJA VIJAYAM: is the next literary production of the same author, Tirumalarya.[2] He wrote it sometime between 1682 and 1686. It contains six cantos and all of them prominently deal with the rise of Mysore under Raja Wodeyar and his successors. Incidentally references are made to the periodic invasions of

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1. Karnataka Kavya Kalanidhi series, Mysore, 1919 and also Karnataka Kavya Manjari series, No.13, Mysore, 1895.
2. Karnataka Kavya Manjari series No.17, Mysore, 1896.

Mysore by the Bijapuris, the relations of the Mysore rulers with the Nayaks of Bednur and the battle of Erode (1667) in which the Marathas participated.

The secondary Kannada sources are, Mysuru Dhoregala Vamsavali (1800), Mysuru Rajara Charitre (1800), by Venkataramanaiah, Mysuru Dhoregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara (1710-1714), Kalale Arasugala Vamsavali (1830), and Rajavali Kathe (1838) by Devachandra. The references to Mysore-Maratha relations in these sources are incidental and therefore all the more useful.

Another secondary source of much importance is the Annals of the Mysore Royal Family, Part I. edited by Rama Krishna Rao.[1] It throws much light on the Karnatak expeditions organised by the Bijapur Sultan, the establishment of the Maratha rule at Bangalore, Ekoji's disposal of Bangalore and the Maratha-Mughal contest for power in the Karnatak.

Important inscriptions relating to Mysore have been published in the volumes of Epigraphia Carnatica, Epigraphia Indica, the Mysore Archaeological Reports and in the Annual Reports, Department of Epigraphy, Madras. Some of the inscriptions are very useful for the study of the Mysore-Maratha relations. They tell the place where Shahji died, mention the districts over which the Maratha governors such as Ekoji, Sambhaji and others ruled, describe the events that happened in the kingdom of Mysore and the contest

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1. Published in Mysore, 1916, 1922.

for power among different Chieftains that sprang up in the Karnatak after the break up of the Vijavanagar empire.

The letters of South Indian Jesuit missionaries contain informations relating to the political condition of South India, the activities of the Marathas, and the Mughals in the Karnatak and the resistance offered by the innumerable Karnatak chieftains especially the Mysore Rajahs against the Marathas. The letters of Father J. Bertrand included in the "La Mission Du Madure" (1659-1686) narrate the history of the Nayaks of Madura and their relations with other contending powers for the supremacy of the South. John Lockman's "Travels of the Jesuits" (1701), Dr. John Fryer's "Travels in India" (1676-1680), Niccolao Manucci's "Storia Do Mogor" (1653-1708), Orme's "Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire" and William Foster's English Factories in India" are very useful for the study of the subject under investigation. References to Shivaji's Karnatak expedition in general and his Mysore invasion in particular, Sambhaji's devastating wars against Mysore, Ekoji's rule at Tanjore and his control and regulation of the territories at Bangalore, the Mysore-Maratha war at Trichinopoly, Harji Mahadik's strategy against Mysore and his failure to achieve his goal and several other points connected with the subject of study are made in the letters of the Jesuit missionaries.

Persian sources like Muhammad Namah and Basatin-Us-Salatin are very useful for the study of the Karnatak history. Muhammad Namah is a history of the reign of Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur (1627-1656) written by Zahur. It is translated into English and

published in the Modern Review of 1929 and Shivaji Nibhandavali, Part II. Its chronology, topography and the sequence of events almost agree in the main line with Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam. One is a corrective to the other. Basatin-us-Salatin written by Muhammad Ibrahim Zubairi in 1824 is nothing but a copy of Muhammad Namah. For the history of the Bijapur adventure in the Karnatak and its hostile relations with the Mysore Rajas from 1636 to 1656, Persian sources are very valuable.

Among the Sanskrit sources, Shiva Bharata, Radha Madhava Vilasa Champu and Virabhadra Vijayam merit our attention. Shiva Bharata was written by Paramananda, a court poet of Shivaji and is translated into English by Patwardhan and Rawlinson in their source book on Maratha History. It describes Shahji's political achievements in the Karnatak particularly his wars with several Karnatak powers including the Mysore Raja. Radha Madhava Vilasa Champu by Jayaram Pindya gives useful informations regarding Shahji's works in the Karnatak particularly his court at Bangalore. Virabhadra Vijaya Champu was written by Ekambara Dixit, a court poet of Mummadi Kempegowda of Magadi. Although it concerns with the car festival of God Virabhadra, incidentally it refers to the fight between Shahji and Kempe Gowda. On the whole the Sanskrit sources are very useful for the study of Shahji's life in the Karnatak.

Marathi sources such as Shiva Kaleena Patra Sara Sangrah, Shiva Charitra Sahitya, Shiva Charitra Pradeep, Sambhaji Kaleena Patra Sara Sangrah, Parnala Parvata Grahana khyanam, Shivaji

Nibhandavali, Rajaram Charitam and the English translation of the Marathi sources entitled Shiva Chhatrapati and Sabhasad are also consulted.

Lastly, the records of the English factories on the Bombay coast and the inland supply us with information relating to the subject under investigation. The English at Rajpur and Karwar employed paid spies who travelled in Shivaji's dominions and brought back news of Shivaji's plans and deeds. The Records of Fort St.George concerning Mysore, comprise the Diary and consultation Book, Fort St. David consultation, Letters to Fort St. George, Letters from Fort St.George, and Despatches to England. Though these records relate the commercial activities of the English and the French on the coast of India, incidentally they refer to the political condition in South India as also to the Maratha, Mughal and Mysore contest for power in the Karnatak.

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CHAPTER I

RELATIONS BETWEEN KANTHIRAVA NARASARAJA AND SHAHJI

Mysore relations with Shahji begin from the war of 1638-39 which broke out between Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar of Mysore (1638-1659) and Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur (1626-1656). Shahji (1594-1664), son of Maloji Bhonsle, father of the great Shivaji laid the foundation for the rise of the Maratha power in Mysore. His rise in Mysore like that of many other great men was as much due to his energy, enterprise and perseverence as to the opportunities which presented themselves in the 17th century.

In order to understand Shahji's relations with Mysore, it is necessary to trace the course of the Karnatak expedition organised by the Sultan of Bijapur. Several causes contributed to bring about this expedition. First, the Chief of Samuki Bagur, in Bangalore District, was on inimical terms with Kempe Gowda, the Chieftain of Bangalore because of the latter's overbearing attitude and ambition for territories.[1] The Bagur Chief, consequently, went to the Bijapur Court and solicited the Sultan's aid against Kempe Gowda.[2] Secondly,

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1. S.K. Narasimhiah: Founder of Bangalore, Ch. III. p. 20.
2. Ibid.,

yet another Chieftain, Channaiah of Nagamangala in Mandya District, who had been deposed by Chamaraja Wodeyar of Mysore, went to the Bijapur Court in person, took up service under the Sultan as a Mansabdar of 200 horse and actually stayed in the Bijapur Court until the Sultan fitted out an expedition to Mysore.[1] Further, he accompanied the expedition as the Chief adviser and guide until it was brought to a close. This explains how much influence he wielded on the Sultan.

Muhammad Adil Shah was also anxious to invade Mysore for several reasons. First, the Sultan, bound by the treaty of 1636 between the Mughals and the Bijapuris, could extend his scheme of conquest only to the south. Secondly, his first Karnatak expedition of 1637 sent under Ranadulla Khan and Shahji against Ikkeri, in Shimoga District, was successful and the terms dictated to Virabhadra Nayak, Ikkeri Chieftain, were such that the Sultan got 18 lakhs of huns (Rs.54 lacs) in addition to half of Ikkeri. The vast riches lured the Sultan and induced him to undertake frequent expeditions to further South.[2] Thirdly, the Sultan was anxious to exact tribute from the ruler of Mysore.[3] Lastly, Muhammad Nama, a contemporary Persian source gives another reason which looks improbable. The Sultan "thought of bringing the countries

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1. Annals, I. p. 73.
2. Ke. N.V., IV; M.N. in Shiv. Nib., II. p.97; K.N.V., XI, V.7.
3. K.N.V., XI. Vs. 67-70; . Vs. 92-93.

of Karnatak and Malnad under his sway in order to strengthen and glorify the Islamic religion in the dominions of Hindus".[1] But this may not be a fact, because in the first place there were many Hindu officers like Shahji, Vedoji, Hanumappa Nayak, Channaiya and others in the Bijapur army. Could they permit such an action at a distant place? Secondly, from the study of his wars with the Chieftains of the Karnatak, it can be gathered that he was more concerned with the plunder than with the glorification of Islam. Lastly, the Sultan was in the habit of appointing only Hindu officers to the conquered Karnatak countries. Hanumappa Nayak was appointed to govern over Basavapatna in 1637 and in 1638 Bangalore was given to Shahji. Of course, like every other chieftain and Sultan of the 17th century Muhammad Adil Shah was also anxious to bring under his control as much territory as he could. The author of Muhammad Nama seems to have exaggerated the intentions of the Sultan. So, religion ceased to be a dominant factor in taking political decisions.

The Sultan launched the expedition under Ranadulla Khan with Shahji under him for the conquest of the Karnatak countries particularly Mysore.[2] The other Maratha generals who accompanied the expedition were Vedoji, Baghava Pandit,

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1. Shiv. Nib., Part II, p. 96.
2. Linganna Kavi (Ke.N.V.) calls Ranadulla Khan as Rustam-i-Zaman, Bhumalapura copper plate grant (Mysore Archaeological Report, 1922, pp. 122-123) refers to him as Ranadulla Khan Khan-e-Azam, Wilks (Vol. I. p. 31) calls him Rend Dhoola Khan, Muhammad Nama (Shivaji Nibhandavali, Part II) calls him Randaula Khan and states that Rustam-e-Zaman was his title.

Siddoji and Kannoji.[1] Shahji, Hanumappa Nayak and Channaiya were appointed to be the Chief advisers and guides. With these generals, Ranadulla Khan set out with an army of 40,000 horse, 40 elephants and 1,00,000 foot according to Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali.[2]

Ranadulla and Shahji marched with their army and crossed the Tungabhadra. Marching swiftly, they attacked Sira which lay enroute to Bangalore, killed its ruler, Kasthuri Ranga and annexed the town with all its belongings.[3] Commencing their march, they attacked and took possession of Tumkur and finally encamped at Sivaganga, situated to the North-west of Bangalore. Kempe Gowda attacked the Bijapur camp and fought with the army for three days in which he was totally defeated and driven out. Shutting himself up in the fort of Bangalore, Kempe Gowda continued the fight but finally was overwhelmed by the besiegers.[4] In this connection Paramananda says, "The Rajah of Bingrool (Bangalore) was expert in the art of fighting and after a bold stand lasting for many days, he surrendered the fort of Bangalore".[5] The war came to a close by the conclusion of a treaty in which Shahji played a leading

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1. K.N.V., XI. 66-98; XII. 92-93.
2. C.Vam., p. 57. Although the Kannada source gives us the above figures, it is difficult to believe whether Bijapur which was not after all a big kingdom could afford to send such a huge army. In the absence of any corroborative evidence, we are not in a position to furnish the exact figure.
3. K.N.V., XI. V.43.
4. K.N.V., XI. Vs.58, 59, 60.
5. Shiva Bharatha, 9, 43. Kempe Gowda was an able ruler of Bangalore. During his rule for fifty five years, he enlarged Bangalore with the additions of Savanadurg and Magadi and (contd)

role as a mediator.[1] The terms of the treaty were, first, Kempe Gowda surrendered the fort of Bangalore with all its property intact and agreed to pay annual contribution to Bijapur and secondly, Ranadulla received Kempe Gowda's son as hostage and promised protection to Kempe Gowda. Ranadulla found this place convenient to hold the southern territories. Kempe Gowda was sent to Magadi with his family and followers and Bangalore was handed over to Shahji. Govinda Vaidya says "With the permission of the Sultan of Bijapur, Ranadulla Khan gave Bangalore to Shahji and marched on with his political programme" (i.e. conquest of Srirangapatna).[2]

Acquisition of Bangalore in December 1638 was an important event because after 1638 Bangalore remained a principal centre of Maratha activities under Shahji in Mysore till 1684 when Ekoji, son of Shahji disposed it off. Shahji found sufficient opportunities in Bangalore to build up his career and carve out an independent principality of his own because the influence of Bijapur in course of time over the Karnatak territories declined. Shahji, "The cleverest and the most ambitious" man that he was, turned Bangalore into a convenient military base for his future operations against Kanthirava

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5. made it a cultural centre by constructing temples and tanks. Bangalore was the capital of the Yelahanka principality or Morasabad.
1. Sardesai's Commemoration Volume, p. 75.
2. K.N.V., XI. V.66; Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society., Vol. XIII, July 1923, p. 732. Kempe Gowda lived for eighteen years more after the treaty of 1638 paying the stipulated tribute to Bijapur. From 1638 onwards Kempe Gowda and his successors came to be familiarly called as "Magadi Kempe Gowdas".

Narasaraja. As Bangalore was not far off from Srirangapatna, the capital of the Wodeyar dynasty, frequent armed conflicts between Shahji and Kanthirava were inevitable at a later period. Shahji's diplomacy reached its height when Kempegowda distressed much for the loss of such a valuable possession as Bangalore, was consoled by him with the offer of Magadi. Had Ranadulla minded, Magadi also could have been taken. However, viewed from the angle of the Mysore-Maratha relations, Shahji's possession of Bangalore was an important milestone in his political career and it was from there he threatened Mysore.

Accompanied by Shahji, Ranadulla left Bangalore and about the middle of January 1639, he was at Srirangapatna. Ranadulla sent his envoys to Kanthirava to demand the payment of tribute due to the Bijapur Government. Mysore was not a tributary of Bijapur in the past, but Ranadulla was imposing the tribute for the first time taking advantage of the military success at Bangalore. On refusal, Ranadulla ordered his generals to besiege the fort. The Maratha generals who commanded the troops were Vedoji, Raghava Pandit and Shahji. Vedoji commanded 4,000 horse, 20 elephants, and a large number of infantry. Raghava Pandit had at his disposal 3,000 horse, 20 elephants and some trained troops; Shahji 6000 horse, 7 to 8 thousand foot and 10 elephants.[1]

1. K.N.V., XI. V. 89.

On 18 January Ranadulla and Shahji laid siege to both the forts of Srirangapatna and Mysore simultaneously, but the Bijapur army was repulsed with a heavy loss in both places. Nanjarajaiya, the commander of the Mysore army made several night attacks on the besiegers who had encamped themselves at different places such as Arakere, Hosaholalu, and Yadavagiri (Melkote) and killed many. Inspite of the successive reverses, Ranadulla persisted in his resolve to take the forts. The operations began more vigorously than before. Shahji accompanied by his Maratha generals such as Vedoji, Raghava Pandit, Siddoji and Kannoji and Muslim colleagues like Afzal Khan, Mustafa Khan, Iklas Khan and Farid Khan renewed the siege and pulled down the ramparts of the fort of Mysore after three days of incessant fighting.

As to the point who won the victory, sources differ. The Kannada sources such as Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam,[1] Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali,[2] Annals of the Mysore Royal Family,[3] and Rajakathavali[4] maintain that the Bijapur army was repulsed with heavy loss. Epigraphical evidence supports this statement. A record of 1639 issued shortly after the event refers to Kanthirava "as the destroyer of the demons, the race of Yavanas".[5] Another record refers to him, "as God Narasimha

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1. K.N.V., XIV, XV, XVI. 2. C.Vam., pp. 35-36.
3. Annals, I. pp. 72-76. 4. Ch. XII. pp. 470-472.
5. Epigraphia Carnatica, III (1) Nj. 198.

incarnate born on earth to destroy the Turuska" and further states, "When he went forth to war, the Mlechhas fell down in swoon".[1] Historians like Col. Wilks,[2] S.Krishnaswamy Iyengar[3] and C.Hayavadana Rao,[4] relying on the above sources, have accepted that the Bijapur army suffered defeat. But the non-Kannada sources do not agree with this view. Muhammad Nama says that "Rustam-e-Zaman (Ranadulla Khan) himself started to punish the Rajah of Srirangapatna named Kanti Rai (Kanthirava). He besieged the fort for one month and then the Rajah sent his ambassador with a message saying 'leave the fort to me and I will give you 5 lakhs of huns as an indemnity', Rustam-e-Zaman granted this request."[5] Shiva Bharatha by Paramananda says that "Kanthirava, the Raja of Srirangapatna was very cruel and was subdued by Shahji, which act of valour was much appreciated by Ranadulla".[6] Shivakalina Patra Sara Sangraha, a Marathi source, maintains that Shahji took tribute from Kanthirava of Mysore.[7] Each source glorifies the exploit of its own master and never spares the opponent. Kannada sources praise him as the saviour of the Karnatak from the onslaughts of the Muslims. The Persian source speaks in high terms of the conquest of Mysore by Ranadulla Khan whereas the Sanskrit and Marathi sources brand Kanthirava as cruel and

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1. Epigraphia Carnatica, III (i) Sr. 103 (1647).
2. Wilks History, Vol. I. p. 59.
3. Ancient India, pp. 292-293.
4. History of Mysore, Vol. I.
5. Shiv. Nib., II. pp. 99-100.
6. Chapter IX. Vs. 39-44.
7. II. p. 171.

maintain that Shahji exhibited much valour in the fight against Kanthirava and that Ranadulla Khan was pleased with his daring qualities. From two facts, namely the stationing of Hanumappa Nayak and Qazi Syed at Mysore till the tribute was paid up and the partition of Mysore between Ranadulla and Kanthirava, it is possible to conclude that Kanthirava was defeated and was compelled to accept the treaty of 1639.

The treaty between Ranadulla and Kanthirava was signed on 21st January 1639. The terms of the treaty were first, the territory lying to the south of the Cauvery should be left to Kanthirava, secondly, the territory lying to the north of the river was to be taken over by the Bijapur Sultan. Thirdly, the right of collecting revenue in the latter region and its remission to the Bijapur Government after deducting necessary expenses incidental to its management was left to Kanthirava.[1] This explains that Ranadulla was satisfied with establishing his suzerainty over the region north of the Cauvery. Finally, Kanthirava agreed to pay Bijapur a tribute of 5 lakhs according to Muhammad Nama. Hanumappa Nayak and Qazi Syed were stationed at Mysore to collect the tribute, Guards were also kept to safeguard their interests. After making these arrangements, Ranadulla withdrew from Mysore.[2]

Kanthirava was disappointed, for he had lost his

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1. Annals, I. pp.75-76; Shiv. Nib., II. pp. 99-100.
2. Ibid., Shiv. Nib., II. p. 100.

new conquests in the country of Jagadeva.[1] Although he agreed to this humiliating treaty at the time of his distress he did not fulfil its terms after the withdrawal of the Bijapur army. The tribute he paid, had drained his treasury. During the course of the war, Kanthirava noticed Shahji commanding a major portion of the army and observed that he fought heroically like 'Mahisasura'.[2] This explains the leading role of Shahji in the operations.

The policy pursued by the Sultan in the first Karnatak expedition against Ikkeri was entirely different from that of the second. In the first he aimed merely at the collection of tribute but in the second expedition, he tried to establish his rule wherever possible. Thus Bangalore was occupied and given over to Shahji. This expedition was specially significant because for the first time Shahji came into armed conflict with Kanthirava. The stage was set for both Kanthirava and Shahji to play their vital role in the Karnatak politics.

Within a year Mysore and Bijapur came into bitter conflict for the second time over the question of the payment of tribute due to Bijapur. Shahji once again played a leading role in this expedition as well. In 1640 the third Karnatak expedition was undertaken by the Sultan and this expedition

1. The country of Jagadeva was the Channapatna viceroyalty which was incorporated into Mysore in 1630.

2. K.N.V., XII, 45.

provided Shahji with a large number of principalities in Mysore. Several causes brought about this expedition. First, Virabhadra Nayak of Ikkeri wanted to punish Hanumappa Nayak of Basavapatna who had been responsible for the Bijapur invasion of Ikkeri in 1637. Virabhadra Nayak had fought against the Bijapur army, suffered heavily in men and materials, and concluded a treaty with them by offering 18 lakhs huns and half of his kingdom.[1] Since 1637 he had maintained friendly relationships with Bijapur. He wanted to make use of this friendship against Hanumappa Nayak. He despatched a representative named Rama Krishnaiya with presents to the Sultan of Bijapur and solicited his aid to destroy Hanumappa Nayak.[2] Secondly, Hanumappa Nayak who had been the chief adviser to Ranadulla Khan in the second Karnatak expedition, had revolted against Bijapur. He refused to be in charge of the collection of tribute from Mysore. He went to his capital, Basavapatna and contributed to "the general rising of the Hindu Rajas throughout the Karnatak against Bijapur".[3] Lastly, Kanthirava violated the terms of the treaty of 1639 by refusing to pay the arrears of tribute due to Bijapur.[4] So, Ramakrishnaiya's mission to Bijapur, the disloyal conduct of Hanumappa Nayak and the refusal on the part of Kanthirava to pay the arrears of tribute were the causes that brought about the third Karnatak expedition. The immediate cause of the expedition was the

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1. K.N.V., XI. V.7; Ke.N.V., IV.
2. Ke.N.V., VI, p.98; Annals of the Mysore Royal Family (I. p.83) states that two persons named Huvaiya and Puvaiya were sent to Bijapur.
3. M.N., in Shiv. Nib., II. p. 100.
4. Annals, I. pp. 83-84.

treacherous conduct of Hanumappa Nayak. About January 1640 the Bijapur Sultan appointed a commission to conduct an enquiry into the unsatisfactory arrangements made at Mysore in respect of the collection of revenues. Nagamangala Channaiya was a member of this commission. When the commission arrived at Basavapatna, Hanumappa murdered Channaiya. This was too much for the Sultan to tolerate. He at once fitted out an expedition to the Karnatak under the command of Ranadulla Khan.[1]

Shahji went from Bangalore and joined Ranadulla Khan. Virabhadra Nayak joined the Bijapur army at Harihara with the double objectives of punishing Hanumappa Nayak and regaining certain territories which he had lost in the previous war.[2] The combined Bijapur-Ikkeri armies crossing the river Bhadra arrived at Basavapatna and Shahji with the help of Afzal Khan, Badaji, Siddi Rahim and Hussain Ambar went and invested the fort. The Kannada sources, Annals of the Mysore Royal Family[3] and Mysore Dhoregala Vamsavali[4] say that Tenge was seized. Tenge may be interpreted as Kenge identical with Basavapatna. When the Bijapuris gained the upper hand, Hanumappa submitted and delivered the fort with 40 lakhs of huns (Rs. 1,20,00,000).[5] Thereupon Hanumappa Nayak and his brother were captured and sent to Bijapur.[6]

1. Annals, I. pp.83-84. Mys.Dho.Vam., says that Ranadulla Khan was dismissed and Khan was appointed in his place. This seems to be incorrect as Ke.N.V., K.N.V., and M.N. speak of the presence of Ranadulla Khan in the campaign of 1640.
2. Shiv. Nib., II. p. 100.
3. Annals, I. p.85.
4. Mys. Dho. Vam., I Chapter.
5. Shiv. Nib., II. p. 101.
6. Ibid., Ke.N.V., VI. V.99; K.N.V., XVI. Vs.25-29.

Murtuza Baig was appointed to be the Governor of Basavapatna. As to the part played by Shahji in this campaign, Shiva Bharatha says, "When Ranadulla attacked Karnatak then Shahji defeated Kenge Nayak of Vrishapattan" (Basavapatna).[1] This is confirmed by an account compiled in Tanjore in the days of Sarfoji Raja by his Chitnis in 1803, "Shahji went on the southern invasion with Ranadulla Khan sent by Adil Shah. He conquered Kenge Nayak".[2] After the reduction of Basavapatna, the investing army went and occupied Chikkanavakanahalli (30 miles S.W. of Sira).[3] Then the fort of Belur (in Hassan) was taken.[4] Tumkur was next attacked and taken possession of. Then places like Doddaballapur, Kunigal (40 miles W. of Bangalore)[5] were also taken. All these were independent principalities. Muhammad Nama describes more or less in detail as to how the places like Basavapatna, Chikkanayakanahalli, Belur, Tumkur, Doddaballapur and Kunigal were reduced by the Bijapur army. Kannada sources also throw much light on the siege of the said places by the besieg ers. But there were still more other battles that were fought between the armies of Bijapur and Mysore which Muhammad Nama does not describe. Our source of information in regard to these battles is only the Kannada sources.

About July - August 1640, the Bijapur army arrived at Bangalore plundering the towns and villages on the way.[6]

1. Ch. IX. V.37.
2. Shiv. Nib., II. p.66.
3. Ibid., pp.101-102; K.N.V., XVI. p.53.
4. Ibid.,
5. Ibid.,
6. K.N.V., XVI. V.41.

Kanthirava Narasaraja was alarmed by the disturbing activities of the Bijapur army. Kanthirava Narasaraja feared because he knew fully well the strength of Shahji. The defence of Mysore against this Maratha onslaught was the primary concern of Kanthirava Narasaraja. For that purpose he strengthened the defences of Ramagiridurga which commanded the way to Mysore. Nanjarajaiya the Mysore Commander went there at the instance of his overlord and stood ready to meet the challenge of the Bijapuris. On the other hand the Bijapur army at the head of Shahji and Vedoji arrived near Ramagiri and invested the fort. A terrible battle was fought under the walls of Ramagiridurga between the two armies in which, according to Mysore Dhoregala Vamsavali, Vedoji defeated the Mysore army and took possession of the fort.[1] It was a distinct victory to the Bijapuris. This victory was a short lived one. Nanjarajaiya shifted the theatre of war to Hulivurdurga, secured additional reinforcements from Mysore and commenced fighting more vigorously than before. At Hulivurdurg a battle was fought in which the Bijapuris were defeated and pursued by the Mysore army. Bagur which was held by Vedoji Pant was next attacked and taken posssession of by Nanjarajaiya. The victorious Mysore army then went to Turuvekere (turugere) which the Bijapuris had occupied and regained it from them. This was followed by the acquisition of Honavinakere from the hands of the

1. Mys. Dho. Vam., p. 37. Vedoji Panditaru Ramagiridurgavanna tegedukondu. Vedoji Pandit's name is spelt differently in several sources as Vemojipant, Vemajipant, Vedhojipant. S.K.Iyengar (Ancient India, p.204) refers to the name as Vemaji Pandit; K.V.V., XVI. pp.32-43.

Bijapuris.[1] Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam is the only source which describes these campaigns of the Mysore army against the Bijapuris. Muhammad Nama maintains discreet silence on these military adventures of the Mysore army. This is because, like any other court chronicles, it omits those events which were inglorious to its master.

On the whole the result of the expedition is that important places like Doddaballapura, Tumkur, Kunigal, Chikkanayakanahalli and Ramgiridurga were left in charge of Shahji. The addition of these territories not only increased his power but also his desire for more territories. Mysore was surrounded by powerful enemies like the Nayaks of Ikkeri, Madura and Basavapatna, the Marathas and the Muslims, Of all the most dangerous rivals were the Marathas. The development of Maratha interest at the next door was a permanent eye-sore to Mysore. However, from the policy purused towards the Bijapuris, Kanthirava Narasaraja was on an advantageous position. In the first place he did not pay the arrears of tribute. Secondly, he defeated the Bijapuris and drove them out of Mysore. As a result of this Mysoreans and the Marathas, who were the closest allies of Bijapur, never lived in peace. Kanthirava never reconciled himself to the presence of the Marathas in Bangalore.

The Sultan was offended by the policy of the Mysore Raja. The refusal to pay the arrears of tribute, the expulsion of Vedoji

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1. K.N.V., XVI. Vs. 32-91.

Pant from Bagur and the acquisition of a number of Bijapur territories by Kanthirava were matters of great concern to the Sultan. He came to the conclusion that Kanthirava was aiming at the complete destruction of the Bijapur interests in the Karnatak and that if effective steps were not taken to check his aggression, there would be no chance to retain the conquered territories of the Karnatak. Therefore, the Sultan, acting on his own initiative, sent out another expedition for the fourth time under Mustafa Khan in December 1640. This time Mustafa Khan was properly instructed to reattempt the acquisition of Srirangapatna itself. Marching at the head of a large army by the usual route of Gadag, Lakshemswar and Basavapatna, Mustafa Khan arrived at Chandanahalli in the neighbourhood of Bellur. From there he sent a message to Kanthirava urging him to fulfil the terms of the treaty of 1639. Instead of paying the tribute, Kanthirava offered to fight. A terrible battle was fought between the two armies in which the Bijapuris were completely defeated and put to flight. This event of 1640 is narrated in the Kannada sources such as Annals of the Mysore Royal Family, Mysore Dhoregala Vamsavali and Mysoru Dhoregala Purvottara, but Muhammad Nama does not say anything about this point obviously because the event was not in favour of its master.[1] The consequences of the expedition were that Kanthirava stood as a great barrier in Mysore against the Bijapur Sultan's expansionist policy, that the

1. Annals, I. pp.85-86; Mys. Dho. Vam., pp. 37-38; Mys. Dho. Pur., I. p.66.

Bijapur territories in the Karnatak under Shahji, Murtaz Baig and others were threatened and that the Sultan was sounded to check Kanthirava's aggression in the Karnatak.

The failure of the fourth Karnatak expedition did not deter the Sultan to plan another expedition to the south. The reduction of Srirangapatna was his first concern. He was not worried about the means by which it could be effected. Thus the fifth Karnatak expedition was fitted out in March 1641 under the command of Vedoji Pant and Afzal Khan. These generals had sufficient knowledge of the Karnatak affairs since they had participated in the previous Karnatak campaigns. Vedoji Pant, in particular, had not forgotten the humiliation done to him by Kanthirava in the previous campaign. The loss of Bagur was a terrible blow to him. With a firm determination to humble Kanthirava and to retake all that he had lost in the Karnatak, Vedoji Pant invaded Mysore. As usual Shahji joined Vedoji Pant. Tippur, Hampapura, Kannambadi, Akkihebbal, Ganni, Nallur, Madapura, Katterighatta, Hosaholalu and other places in the neighbourhood of Srirangapatna fell into his hands like an house of cards. In the absence of any opposition, the task of plundering towns and villages became easy. Mysore was threatened. Kanthirava despatched Nanjarajaiya to arrest the progress of the Maratha general. Nanjarajaiya met the Bijapur army in the vicinity of Srirangapatna and inflicted a crushing defeat on Vedoji Pant and Afzal Khan. There upon the Bijapur army retreated to Bijapur. During the course of its return

journey, Vedoji Pant reoccupied Turuvekere and left it in charge of Afzal Khan.[1] Thus the loss of Bagur was compensated by the occupation of Turuvekere. These two expeditions ended in failure excepting the reoccupation of Turuvekere. Consequently, three distinct settlements could be seen, one at Bangalore under Shahji, another at Turuvekere under Afzal Khan and still another at Basavapatna under Murtaza Baig. Among these three generals, Shahji enjoyed large powers having control over all the Karnatak territories.

These expeditions indicate that Bijapur was aiming at the subjugation of the Karnatak territories particularly Mysore. Bijapur could not reduce Mysore because Kanthirava defended it sometimes by accommodating matters with the Bijapur generals and other times by repulsing them. In the conflict between Mysore and Bijapur, the Marathas gained advantages. Shahji enjoyed the confidence of the Bijapur Sultan. Being convinced of his loyalty to the Government, the Sultan appointed Shahji to govern the Karnatak territories. Each Karnatak expedition enlarged his powers and extent of his territories. Thus sufficient opportunities were created by these expeditions for Shahji to make himself strong at Bangalore and to serve as a great barrier against the expansionist policy of Mysore.

1. Annals, I. p. 86; Mys. Dho. Vam., pp. 38-39. G.S.Sardesai in his book New History of the Marathas, Vol.I. p.72, says that the Sultan held grand celebrations at Bijapur to commemorate the unprecedented triumph of three years continuous efforts in which all the Hindu potentates of the South had been overcome Although the Bijapur Sultan held a grand Durbar in commemoration of the reduction of all most all the Hindu Chieftains of the south, the fact remains that Mysore was not reduced and the supremacy of Bijapur never remained unchallenged.

Having gained a firm position in the Karnatak, Shahji devoted himself to the task of establishing a Maratha court at Bangalore and organising the administration of the conquered territories. As Bangalore and Bijapur were far away from each other in those days of difficult communication, it is no wonder, if Shahji assumed royal splendour. Several sources including the Kannada source throw light on the grandeur of the Maratha Court at Bangalore. Paramananda says, "Shahji took the delightful place, Bangalore from Kempe Gowda which was presented to him for his own maintenance by Ranadulla Khan."[1]

Another record compiled in Tanjore in 1803 mentions, "Being pleased with the sight of Bangalore, the security of its fortress and the salubrity of its climate, Shahji made up his mind to fix his headquarters there". The fortress of Bangalore was repaired and provided with a strong artillery. The fort had four towers and nine gates. The city was beautiful with nine tanks and some temples dedicated to Shiva, Vishnu and Dharmaraya.[2] It became the principal centre of the Maratha culture. Doddaballapur and Kolar rose into prominence in this period. On certain occasions when not engaged in military expeditions, Shahji used to stay either in Doddaballapur or Kolar. Nandi was his summer residence.[3] His palace at Bangalore was named "Gowri Mahal

1. Shiva Bharat, IX. 43.
2. S.K.Narasimhaiah: The founder of Bangalore, Ch.II & III.
3. Rice: Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. II, p. 22.

and the popular belief is that the palace was in the present Basavanagudi extension. His court was adorned with poets, musicians and saints. Jayaram Pindya, author of Radha Madhava Vilasa Champu and Parnala Parvathagrahanakhyanam, went all the way from Nasik to Bangalore and through Shivaraya Goswamin was introduced to Shahji at his court. Shahji admired him for his ability to compose poems in twelve languages. Shahji encouraged both Sanskrit and Marathi. Great poets like Malhari Bhatta, Naropant Hanumanthe and others flourished at his court. Naropant Hanumanthe and his two sons, Janardhanapant and Raghunathapant were well-known historical personalities of the time. Prabhakara Bhatta was his purohit. Thus Shahji established almost a royal splendour at Bangalore.[1]

For military and administrative purposes, Shahji imported many Maratha families, provided them with all facilities and trained them properly to fit into his administrative machinery. He introduced Maratha names of Deshpande, Deshmuk, Kulakarni together with Persian designations of Qanungo, Serishtedar and several other novelties. He left the civil administration in the hands of the native officers. He ordered his officers to observe sufficient moderation in the collection of the revenue, for Shahji knew that he was at a distant place from Bijapur and that he should secure the support of the people for smooth administration of the Karnatak territories. His policy was to gain confidence from below and power from above. At the same time he was conscious of his duty to the Bijapur Government. He remitted a part of

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1. Rawlinson: Source Book of Maratha History, pp. 22-23.

the revenue to the Bijapur treasury and the remainder was utilised for his own maintenance.[1] The Sultan of Bijapur appreciated this and went to the extent of addressing Shahji in one of his letters as, "To our son Shahji Bhonsle, the pillar of our State".[2]

Shahji had the privilege of meeting his wife, Jija Bai, son, Shivaji, and the tutor, Dadaji Kondedev here at Bangalore. Shivaji's military, civil and revenue organisation in Maharashtra could no longer be concealed from the knowledge of the public, particularly from the eyes of the Sultan of Bijapur. In order to place Shivaji on the traditional path of Bijapur service, Shahji, acting either on his own initiative or at the instance of the Bijapur Sultan, invited Shivaji to Bangalore with his mother and the tutor. Therefore the whole family journeyed from Maharashtra to Bangalore and stayed there for about two years from 1640 to 1642. Jija Bai urged her husband to celebrate the marriage of Shivaji and make a provision for his life. She complained that her son got nothing from his father whereas Ekoji and Sambhaji who were growing at Bangalore would get all his wealth and power. A compromise was effected. Shahji celebrated the marriage of Shivaji with a girl named Sai Bai Nimbalkar and formally bestowed on him the Poona Jagir. Jija Bai was glad at this and having visited a number of Hindu temples in the Karnatak,

1. Wilks, I, pp.45-46.

2. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, p. 78.

she returned to Poona with Shivaji and his party.[1] Thus Shahji organised the civil administration of the Karnatak territories under his control and had the satisfaction of meeting his first wife and the promising son, Shivaji.

Shahji appointed his own men to administer the Karnatak territories as Governors. Several inscriptions found in Mysore State particularly in Doddaballapur, Chikkaballapur and Kolar speak of the activities of the Maratha Governors in the Karnatak.[2]

Shahji was not destined to enjoy peace at Bangalore for long time. He came into conflict with Mysore in 1642. The reason for this conflict was that Mysore was not reconciled with the stay of Shahji at Bangalore. The existence of the Bijapur settlements namely Bangalore, Turuvekere and Basavapatna in Mysore under enterprising generals such as Shahji, Afzal Khan and Murtaz Baig respectively had not only posed a threat to the security of Mysore but proved a great obstacle to the expensionist policy of Mysore as well.[3] Kanthirava resolved first to reduce Turuvekere which had served a stepping stone to further conquests of Mysore by the Bijapuris in the past. He sent his Dalvoy, Nanjarajaiva to conquer Turuvekere. In May 1642 Nanjarajaiva went and occupied Turuvekere by putting to flight its governor, Afzal Khan. This was followed by the reduction of Anebagur. Leaving

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1. J.N.Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, Vth Edition, p. 22.
2. Appendix, I.
3. K.N.V., XI. V.66; Annals, I. p. 86.

the two fortresses in charge of Hampendra, a Mysorean, Nanjarajaiya returned to the capital with large spoils of war in addition to forty horses and an elephant named Bokkalika.[1] Shahji could not save Afzal Khan because his military equipment was inadequate to meet the situation. The consequence of this event was that Shahji was warned that unless effective steps were taken to undo the work of Kanthirava his position would be jeopardised. Thus Shahji could not live in peace in his new Bangalore principality.

Since Shahji's power at Bangalore was in its infant stage, he could not deal with Kanthirava independently. He was to depend either on the assistance of his overlord at Bijapur or on the military support of the Karnatak Chieftain in his wars against Mysore. An opportunity occurred in 1644 when Shahji could oppose Kanthirava in the battle field in alliance with the Nayak of Holenarasipur. Shahji had to rely upon the Karnatak Chieftain because Bijapur was not in a position to help him. Ranadulla Khan died in 1643 with the result Shahji lost an important friend at the Bijapur Court.[2] Consequently Muhammad Adil Shah could not turn his attention to the immediate needs of Shahji at Bangalore. The reason for the war of 1644 was the refusal of Narasimha Nayak of Holenarasipur to pay the arrears of tribute due to Mysore. When Mysore collectors went there, they were

1. Ibid., XVIII. V.71; Mys.Dho.Vam., pp.38-40; C.Vam., p.59; C.Vij., II. 138; Mys.Raj.Char., p. 23; Annals, I.pp.69 & 88.

2. Sardesai: New History of the Marathas, Vol.I. pp.74-75.

insulted and forcibly driven out. Highly enraged at the conduct of the Nayak, Kanthirava declared war. His Dalvoy went and besieged the fort in April 1644. As to the part played by Shahji in this campaign, Govinda Vaidya says that Narasimha Nayak in his war with Mysore, was supported by the Muslims.[1] By Muslims he meant those who represented Bijapur interest in the Karnatak and the Bijapur army. References are made to the Muslim army from Chapter 11 to 18 and to their plundering expeditions in the Karnatak, particularly in the kingdom of Mysore. According to him, the Muslim army consisted of generals like Afzal Khan, Amber Khan, Vedoji, Shahji, Raghava Pandit and others.[2] So, those who represented Muslim interest at the time of the siege of Holenarasipur by the Mysore army, were Murtaz Baig of Basavapatna and Shahji of Bangalore. It is quite likely that Murtaz Baig and Shahji were the principal generals who cooperated with Narasimha Nayak of Holenarasipur against Mysore at the head of an army consisting of 8000 horse.[3] In the fight that ensued, the combined armies were defeated and dispersed by Nanjarajaiya. The hostility was terminated by the conclusion of a treaty according to which Narasimha Nayak retained his principality by paying up all the arrears of tribute. Nanjarajaiya returned triumphantly with vast booty and the promise of regular tribute. Viewed from the angle of the Mysore-Maratha relations, the event reveals that Shahji did not remain an idle

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1. K.N.V., XVIII. Vs. 2-3.
2. K.N.V., XI. Vs. 5, 9, 66, 89, 93, 94, 98; XII. Vs.46-66; XIV. Vs. 25, 29; XVIII. Vs. 80-90, 113-123.
3. Ibid., XVIII. V. 13.

and unconcerned spectator in the drama staged by Kanthirava and that he used all possible means at his disposal to check the progress of Kanthirava by making alliance with such power that would oppose Mysore. The event further strengthened the resolution of Shahji to put down Kanthirava when convenient opportunities occurred to him. His active participation in the campaign of 1645 against Mysore was a clear indication of his determination.[1]

The provocative activities of Kanthirava made Shahji think that if he wanted to retain the jagir in Mysore and serve his master as a loyal Bijapur representative, he should ally himself with some power that opposed the expansion of Mysore. That opportunity for making military alliance came when war broke out between the king of Mysore and Nanjundaraja, the Chieftain of Pirivapatna in 1645.

Several causes brought about the war between Kanthirava Narasaraja and Nanjundaraja. First, Nanjundaraja had not paid the the annual tribute of 3000 varahas (Rs.9000) due to the Mysore Raja according to the terms of the treaty entered into between himself and Chamaraja Wodeyar. Secondly, he did not ally himself with king of Mysore against the Bijapur Sultan. Finally, Nanjundaraja felt strong after his defensive alliance with the ruler of Ikkeri.[2]

1. K.N.V., XVIII. Vs. 20-182.
2. K.N.V., XVIII. Vs. 20 and 21; Annals, I. pp.69-71; Mys. Dho. Vam., pp.40-42. Wilks (Vol. I. p.64) says that the Raja of Pirivapatna was Viraraja, the son of Nanjunda Raja. This is incorrect because the K.N.V., specifically mentions the name of Pirivapatna Chieftain as Nanjundaraja.

Govinda Vaidya makes reference to the presence of Maratha and Muslim generals such as Vedoji Pandit, Shahji, Ankush Khan, Ambar Khan and Malik Rahim who figured prominently on the side of Nanjundaraja of Piriyapatna. This point leads us logically to the conclusic that in his war against Mysore, Nanjundaraja sought the assistance of Shahji and other generals and thus we find Shahji, Vedoji and others taking active part in the war against Kanthirava Narasaraja.

As to the question why Nanjundaraja solicted the military aid of Virabhadra Nayak of Ikkeri and Shahji of Bangalore, it may be gathered that since 1639 Ikkeri and Mysore were not on good terms and that the people of Ikkeri used to call the people of Mysore by the epithet, Mayavis and Mayavadis (deluders and diplomatists) political jealousy and hatred, probably account for such a description. Further Ikkeri supported Bijapur against Mysore in 1639 and 1640. Shahji too, was on inimical terms with Mysore eversince the treaty of 1639. Well trained in war and diplomacy of the period, Nanjundaraja thought that he could keep Mysore ruler at a respectable distance by joining hands with Virabhadra Nayak and Shahji. Therefore he allied with the Nayak of Ikkeri and Shahji and went to war against Kanthirava. Shahji, Vedoji and other Bijapur generals advanced at the head of 8000 horse and 15,000 foot and finally encamped at Bettadapur. The Ikkeri army went and joined Shahji. From there the combined army marched and reinforced the Piriyapatna army.

On the other side, Kanthirava Narasaraja instructed Dalvoy

Nanjarajaiya to effect the conquest of Piriyapatna. Accordingly Nanjarajaiya set out at the head of a large army and took possession of Palupare, a place commanding the way to Piriyapatna. From there the Mysore army went and laid siege to the fortress of Piriyapatna. The sige was protracted for nearly ten months (January to October 1645). The besiegers and defenders fought desperately. A fierce battle was fought under the walls of the fortress of Pirivapatna in which Nanjundaraja was wounded, Ikkeri army was routed, Vedoji was driven out, and Shahji was put to flight. The palace was reduced to dust and the town was given to plunder. Thus Nanjarajaiya conquered Piriyapatna. At the news of this victory, Kanthirava Narasaraja visited the fortress and after making necessary arrangements for its administration, he returned to Mysore with vast booty.[1] Pirivapatna was incorporated into the kingdom of Mysore on October 7, 1645.[2]

Unfortunately there are no other sources to substantiate the account of the siege of Pirivapatna by the Mysore army and the role of Shahji in the campaign. Muhammad Nama maintains discreet silence on this important event. Maratha Bakhars also do not say anything about this warfare. The reason for the omission seems to be that generally court chroniclers do not take into account inconvenient factors. Almost all the Kannada sources such as

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1. K.N.V., XVIII. Vs. 20-182; C.Vam., p.59; C.Vij., II.135-136; Annals, I. p. 71.

2. Mys. Dho. Pur., II. 14.

Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam,[1] Annals of the Mysore Royal Family,[2] Mysore Dhoregala Vamsavali,[3] Chikkadevara Vamsavali,[4] Mysore Rajara Charitre,[5] are emphatic in stating that the siege of Piriyapatna by the Mysore army was protracted one and the latter won a brilliant victory over the enemies. On the whole these expeditions of 1644 and 1645 clearly reveal that Shahji's life during this period was full of political and military activities. In the light Kannada sources, it is difficult to agree with J.N.Sarkar's view that Shahji remained idle during the period between 1644 and 1646. Zahur, the author of Muhammad Nama on whom J.N.Sarkar relied, was not able to gather correct information regarding Shahji's activities in the Karnatak during this period and therefore, omitted to make mention of Shahji's deeds in his work.

The battle of Piriyapatna proved advantageous to Kanthirava Narasaraja for, he was able to extend his geographical limit as far as Coorg. Defeated Nanjundaraja was pursued from place to place. In his wanderings Nanjundaraja entered the region of Coorg seeking the help of its ruler. While he was in Nanjarayapatna he was murdered by a Mysorean in December 1645. Thus the king of Mysore could extend his boundary as far as Nanjarayapatna in Coorg, in the West.[6]

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1. Ch. XVIII.
2. Part I. pp. 71-72.
3. pp. 40-42.
4. p.59.
5. p.23.
6. Annals, I. pp.71-72; Mys. Dho. Pur., II. 15.

Shahji was pursued from Piriyapatna. The expulsion of Afzal Khan from Turuvekere and the defeat of Shahji and Vedoji at Pirivapatna had tremendous effect on the relations of Shahji with Mysore. His relations went from bad to worse. He saw the futility of resisting Mysore with the assistance of the Karnatak chieftains much inferior to Kanthirava. With the assassination of Nanjundaraja in Coorg in 1645 and the final annexation of Piriyapatna to Mysore Shahji's chances of reducing Mysore became remote. The hostile relations paved the way for the intervention of Bijapur in the affairs of Mysore because Shahji's position was at stake in the Karnatak.

Bijapur launched the Karnatak expedition in 1646. Shahji participated in the campaign. Several causes brought about this invasion. First, Kanthirava had defeated Shahji who had aided Nanjundaraja of Piriyapatna in his war against Mysore. The Sultan of Bijapur, being alarmed at this, met his generals in a conference and informed them that Kanthirava had grown dangerous by conquering strategic places like Ramagiridurga, Turuvekere and Bagur. He also emphasised the need of leading an expedition to Mysore to check the aggression of Kanthirava. At this, Mustafa Khan volunteered to be in charge of the expeditio Secondly, Kanthirava had expelled Afzal Khan and occupied Turuveke The subversion of Bijapur authority over Turuvekere was a terrible blow to the Bijapur interest in Mysore.[2] Thirdly, Shivappa Nayak

1. K.N.V., XIX. Vs.1-13.

2. Ibid., XIX. V.6.

ascended the throne of Bednur in November, 1645. Eversince the treaty of Bednur on 30 December 1637, Virabhadra Nayak, the predecessor and uncle of Shivappa Nayak, had been on friendly terms with Bijapur. Since the accession of Shivappa Nayak, suspicion arose in the mind of the Sultan whether the new Nayak would follow the same policy as his predecessor had done or could change his policy. The Sultan wanted to know the exact attitude of Shivappa Nayak towards Bijapur.[1] There were two reasons to suspect Shivappa Nayak's loyalty. First, Shivappa Nayak during the life time of his uncle, had wrested the fort of Ikkeri "from its careless indolent, pleasure loving Adil-Shahi commandant".[2] But in 1644 it had been recovered together with Sagar.[3] Secondly, he removed his uncle from the throne and took possession of the Bednur kingdom.[4] From such an usurper, the Sultan could not expect loyalty to Bijapur. However, it was good to know the disposition of the Nayak. Lastly, Sriranga Raya the last emperor of Vijayanagar, ascended the throne on 29 October, 1642, and organised his resources at Vellore He had two objectives in view. One was to retrieve the past glory of the empire and the other was to check the Bijapur expansi in the south.[5] It is true that Bijapur used to send annual expeditions to the Karnatak after 1637 regularly. These annual

1. Ke.N.V., VII; C.Vam., p. 190.
2. Ibid.,
3. M.N., in Shiv. Nib. II. pp. 100-111.
4. Ke.N.V., VII. p.106; C.Vam., p. 190.
5. M.N., in Shiv. Nib., II. pp.113-114; Further sources of Vijayanagara History, p. 348.

expeditions enabled Bijapur to establish its authority over Bangalore, Sira, Chikkanayakanahalli and Doddaballapur. The slow and steady progress of Bijapur in the Karnatak made Sriranga Raya think that it might invade his zone of influence also. So, he desired to check the progress of Bijapur. This naturally created great resentment in the mind of the Sultan of Bijapur.[1]

The Sultan sent out an expedition under Mustafa Khan on 5 June, 1646, with instructions to subdue the Karnatak territories.[2] Passing by way of Gadag and Lakshmeswar, Mustafa Khan reached Honnali, 12 miles west of Basavapatna in Shimoga District. Shahji and Asad Khan went and joined Mustafa Khan.[3] The Bijapur expedition was mainly directed against three powers, Kanthirava, Shivappa Nayak and Sriranga Raya. Shahji took part against all these three. Shivappa Nayak met Mustafa Khan and convinced him of his loyalty by supplying the invaders with 1000 horse and 2000 foot for the conquest of the Karnatak.

On 3 October 1646, Mustafa Khan left the place and by successive marches he reached Sakkarepatna in Shimoga District where Chikkahanumappa Nayak of Basavapatna, Desais of Lakshmeswar and Kopal, Abaji Ghatge and Haibatrao among others came and joined the expedition.[4] From Sakkarepatna the entire army marched and

1. M.N., in Shiv. Nib., II. pp.113-114.
2. Ibid., pp. 113-114; K.N.V., XIX. 14.
3. Ibid., p. 111.
4. Ibid., pp.111-112.

encamped in the neighbourhood of Turuvekere, the northern limit of Mysore in May 1646.[1]

On receipt of the news, Kanthirava sent his Dalvoy, Nanjarajaiya to Turuvekere to deal with the enemy as he thought fit. Marching swiftly, Nanjarajaiya arrived at Turuvekere in December 1646. As to the total strength of the army each general commanded, sources differ. Muhammad Nama mentions that when Mustafa Khan arrived at Sakkarepatna, each Karnatak ally contributed his quota of the army according to his capacity bringing the total to 55,300 in which the cavalry was 31,300 and infantry, 24,000.[2] Leonard Cinnami, an Italian who visited Mysore at that time records that Mustafa Khan commanded an army of 60,000 troops[4] and that Nanjarajaiya had at his disposal cavalry of 10,000. Sources are silent as to the strength of Mysore infantry. In the previous war against Nanjundaraja of Piriyapatna, Nanjarajaiya commanded an infantry of 15,000.[4] Since the war had been fought in October 1645 and the Mysoreans had won a victory there could not have been much radical change in the strength of the Mysore army. So, with that army Nanjarajaiya fought against the enemy. Nanjarajaiya attacked the invaders and caused confusion in the camp. Before Mustafa Khan attempted to direct the counter attack, Nanjarajaiya was able to overpower the enemy completely. Mysore

1. K.N.V., XIX. Vs. 16-18.
2. M.N., in Shiv. Nib. II. pp. 111-112.
3. Ferroli: Journal of Indian History, Vol.25, 1947, p. 196.
4. K.N.V., XVIII. 52-182; C.Vam., p. 37; Annals. I. p. 71.

won a victory but its commander, Nanjarajaiya was killed in the battle in January 1647.[1] However, in the same month, Lingarajaiya, younger brother of Nanjarajaiya was appointed the Dalvoy of the Mysore army.[2]

The defeat of the Bijapur army was a terrible blow to the Maratha interests in Mysore. Shahji might have been frustrated in his ambition to recover Turuvekere. The Maratha generals such as Haibat Rao, Jujhar Rao and Abaji Ghatge figured prominently on the Bijapur side in this action. It may be remembered that Shahji did not fight with Mysore quite independently and that he either used to ally himself with the opponents of Kanthirava or actively cooperate with the Bijapur generals who would undertake Karnatak expeditions. There was quite a sufficient reason for such an actioh of Shahji. He was just building up his power at Bangalore. Militarily he was not strong enough to face the Mysore ruler quite independently. Inadequate supply of the military equipment from Bijapur made Shahji adopt such a policy.

Mustafa Khan was not disheartened by the defeat. He persisted to conquer Mysore. Taking advantage of the confusion

1. K.N.V., XIX. 18-94. The date of the fight has been fixed as January 1647 depending upon Muhammad Nama. Though it is silent about the action at Turuvekere, yet it speaks of the marches of Mustafa Khan in the Karnatak between October 1646 and January 1647. The Annals (I. p.88) says that Nanjarajaiya was removed from the office in January 1647. Therefore, the date has been fixed as January 1647.
2. Annals, I. p.88; K.N.V., XIX. 95-100.

that followed the death of Nanjarajaiya, Mustafa Khan invaded the kingdom of Mysore. But he was defeated and pursued. Leonardo Cinnami, an Italian who visited Mysore at that time says, "Nor did he (Kanthirava) fight only against the weak but also against the Moors, who are very strong. Mustafa Khan who was a near relation and captain general of the Idalcan came at the head of 60,000 infantry against Messore (Mysore). But he was compelled to withdraw to the country where from he had come".[1]

Being frustrated in their second objective of humbling Kanthirava, Mustafa Khan and Shahji turned their attention to their next objective namely that of dealing with Sriranga Raya. When Mustafa Khan arrived at Shivaganga in Bangalore District, Sriranga Raya, sent his envoy, Venkayya Somayaji with peace offerings to purchase the retreat of Mustafa Khan. The whole project was upset when Tirumala Nayak of Madura (1623-1659), Vijaya Raghava Nayak of Tanjore (1640-1674) and the Nayak of Gingee, who were once the vassals of the empire, had rebelled and sent their envoys to Mustafa Khan offering their submission to the Bijapur Government. Highly enraged at the attitude of the Nayaks, Sriranga Raya set out to punish them.[2]

Venkayya Somayaji pressed Mustafa Khan to give up the idea of invading Vellore but the latter refused. At this stage,

1. Journal of Indian History, Vol. 25, 1947, p. 196.
2. M.N., in Shiv. Nib., II. pp. 113-114.

Shahji mediated and told Mustafa Khan that "he (Shahji) had taken from Somayaji solemn oaths of fidelity to his pledge and himself undertook the responsibility for Somayaji carrying out his promise".[1] Through the mediation of Shahji, Somayaji got permission to go to Vellore. But Somayaji intrigued against Mustafa Khan and brought about the war. Mustafa Khan invaded Jagadeva Raya's territory and encamped at Masti, 30 miles east of Bangalore. Sriranga Raya rushed to the scene and launched his attack on Shahji. After a severe battle Sriranga Raya was defeated and pursued. Shahji plundered Jagadeva Raya's country and took possession of Virabhadradurga. Balaji Haibat Rao was left in charge of the conquered territory. After conquering Krishnagiri, Ankusgiri and Devadurga, Mustafa Khan marched on Vellore in February 1647. Golkonda also cooperated with Bijapur in reducing Sriranga Raya. A terrible battle was fought at Vellore in which Sriranga Raya was completely defeated. The war came to a close by the conclusion of a treaty according to which Sriranga Raya paid 50 lakhs huns (1 hun is equal to Rs.3/-) and 150 elephants to the besiegers.[2]

Mustafa Khan stayed at Vellore for one month and returned conquering on the way Ambur, Gangavati, Tirupattur, Kaveripattan, Hassan, Rayadurg, Ratnagiri, Melgiri, Arjunkot and Thalenkot - all in Jagadeva Raya's country.[3] As Mustafa Khan received a

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1. M.N., in Shiv. Nib., II. pp. 113-114.
2. Ibid., pp. 115-118.
3. Ibid., p.119.

message from the Sultan, he returned leaving Asad Khan and Shahji with other officers to administer the conquered territories.[1]

Why did Kanthirava not support Sriranga Raya against Mustafa Khan and Shahji? First, Kanthirava wished to be independent in all aspects as indicated by the issue of coins named after himself in April 1645.[2] Secondly, upto 1643 all the inscriptions pertaining to Kanthirava mention Sriranga Raya as the overlord of Mysore and Kanthirava as his loyal feudatory. But after 1643 the records are conspicuous by the absence of the name of Kanthirava's prominence.[3] Secondly, he was engaged in building a stone fort and bastion for cannons at Channarayapatna with a view to strengthening himself against the Bijapuris.[4] This seemed to be an excuse rather than a reason for not assisting Sriranga Raya. The ambition in him to become an independent king of Mysore seemed to be the main reason for not supporting Sriranga Raya.

Viewed from the angle of repercussions of the campaign, it may be said that the way in which Shivappa Nayak offered his assistance to Mustafa Khan, convinced the Bijapur Government that the new Nayak was sincere in his loyalty towards the Sultan. Shivappa followed the policy of accommodation with the Bijapur

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1. M.N., in Shiv. Nib., II. p.119.
2. E.C.VI section on coinage in Ch.IX.
3. Ibid., V(1) and (2) Ch. 158, 160, Ag.64; III (1) Sr.103; IV(2) Ch.42; IX C.P.23; M.A.R., 1914-1915, p. 63.
4. Ibid., V(1) and (2) Ch.158, 159, 160 and 165.

Government with the object of advancing his own interests. He removed his uncle from the throne and usurped the power. He knew that the Bijapur Government would object to it. Realising his precarious position in relation to Bijapur, he readily went to assist Mustafa Khan as soon as the latter arrived at Honnali.[1] Having accommodated with Bijapur, in 1647 Shivappa sent an embassy to Mysore seeking a friendly alliance with Kanthirava because he wanted Kanthirava to recognize his claims to the throne of Ikkeri, but the latter did not recognize his accession as proper and consequently he rejected the offer and sent back the envoy.[2]

Secondly, the Bijapur Government could still count upon Kanthirava as a bitter opponent checking the expansion of Bijapur in the south. The successive reverses, first, at Turuvekere and then at Mysore blasted all the hopes of Mustafa Khan making headway in Mysore.[3] Consequently, Shahji's hopes were also frustrated. He knew his jagir was small in extent and his resources were limited. He could not directly wage war against those whom he considered serious rivals. Therefore, he wished to get territorial concessions little by little by cooperating with the Bijapur generals. In this way he extended his frontiers towards Jayadeva Raya's territory.

Lastly, Mustafa Khan crushed Sriranga Raya, occupied Vellore and took from him sufficient war indemnity. When

1. M.N., in Shiv. Nib., II. pp.111-112.
2. C.Vam., p. 190.
3. K.N.V., XIX. 18-94.

Mustafa Khan received a message from the Sultan urging him to return immediately, he left the Karnatak leaving the conquered territories in the region of Sriranga Raya to Shahji and Asad Khan.[1] The Bijapur belt of territory to the north and north-east of Mysore comprising Bangalore, Hoskot, Kolar, Doddaballapur and Sira went under the designation of Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat, Shahji administered all that. In addition to that tract, new places like Kanakagir, Ankushagiri, Ambur, Vellore, Gangavati, Kaveripattan, Hassan, Rayadurga, Patnagiri, Melgiri and Dhaliankot were conquered and left in charge of Shahji.[2] Shahji could count himself as a prominent Maratha general sent out from Bijapur to govern the conquered territories. As the Bijapur Government exercised very little or no power over Shahji, no wonder, if he wished to become an independent ruler in the Karnatak.[3] Viewed from the angle of Shahji's relations with Mysore, it can be said that their relations were strained further. The Sultan of Bijapur organised another Karnatak expedition in 1648 under the generalship of Mustafa Khan.

Shahji took part again in this Karnatak expedition of 1648. Muhammad Nama does not explain the circumstances that led to this expedition. It is only the non-Persian sources that enlightens us on the point. It was Tirumala Nayak of Madura who was mainly responsible for the Bijapur intervention in the affairs

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1. M.N., in Shiv. Nib. II, p. 119.
2. Ibid. ,
3. Wilks, I. p. 46.

of the south. Tirumala Nayak was an ambitious ruler. He wanted to free himself from the yoke of Vijayanagar empire of which he was a feudatory. As he was not militarily strong to resist Sriranga Raya, the last ruler of the decadent Vijayanagar empire, he implored the help of the Nayaks of Tanjore and Gingee for an united action. But the Tanjore Nayak betrayed the scheme by divulging it to the emperor. Enraged at this, Sriranga Raya marched with his army against Tirumala Nayak. On the way Sriranga Raya reached Gingee and took its Nayak to task for his treachery. A grave situation arose for Tirumala. All that he was required to do was either he should submit to Sriranga Raya, or he should secure the assistance of some strong power to resist his enemy. Tirumala chose the last one. He wrote a letter to the Sultan of Golkonda and requested him to invade Vellore kingdom. This diplomacy worked successfully. Mir Jumla was despatched by the Sultan of Golkonda. Mir Jumla entered the kingdom of Vellore. Now Sriranga Raya had to abandon the siege of Gingee and retrace his steps to defend his own kingdom. At first Sriranga Raya won a victory over his enemy in Vellore, but at a later stage he suffered defeat. This defeat made him realise that unless all the three Nayaks of Gingee, Tanjore and Madura would join together against a common enemy, Mir Jumla could not be repulsed. Sriranga Raya "invited them to join him against the common enemy and offered them favourable conditions which were accepted".[1]

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1. Bertrand: La Mission Du Madure III. pp. 42-43.

Sriranga Raya was inactive nearly for a year discussing with the Nayaks the question of "the means of defence and attack". To promote their own interests, the three Nayaks drove out Sriranga Raya. Spending four months in the forest north of Tanjore, the "grand monarch, one of the richest in India, was forced to beg for help from the king of Mysore, once the vassal of his crown."[1] Kanthirava Narasaraja received Sriranga Raya warmly, provided him with all the facilities befitting his rank and accommodated him in his kingdom.[2]

The Sultan of Gokonda was disgusted with the three Nayaks, particularly with Tirumala Nayak, for the three Nayaks joined in league with Sriranga Raya against him. Realising that unless the three Nayaks were reduced he could not consolidate the conquered kingdom, the Sultan of Golkonda instructed Mir Jumla ~~to~~ to advance on the territory of Gingee. The Tanjore Nayak submitted to the enemy without any opposition. Tirumala was perturbed over the developments. Only an alternative was before him, either he should submit to Golkonda or oppose it. He chose the latter. He sent his ambassadors to the court of Bijapur and solicited the Sultan's aid to defeat the Golkonda army and relieve Gingee.[3] Thus occasion arose for the Bijapur Sultan to interfere in the affairs of the south.

On 12 January 1648, at the instance of the Bijapur

1. Bertrand: La Mission Du Madure III, pp. 43-44.
2. Ibid.,
3. Ibid., pp.44-46.

Sultan Mustafa Khan set out with an army of 17,000 horse on his last Karnatak expedition.[1] Shahji was ordered to accompany him. Along with Shahji, Siddi Raihan and other nobles, Mustafa Khan reached Gingee. Tirumala expected that Mustafa Khan and Shahji would raise the siege of Gingee by driving out the Golkonda army under Mir Jumla, restore peace and settle the affairs of the Karnatak to the satisfaction of the contending parties namely the three Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee and Sriranga Raya of Vellore. But his hopes were foiled when Mustafa Khan entered into a negotiation with Mir Jumla. The Golkonda general left the siege of Gingee to the Bijapuri's and withdrew to consolidate his recent conquests of Sriranga Raya's territory.[2] At once Shahji proceeded and conquered in one day two forts of Jangama and Trinomali. Shahji was the only great and experienced general among other generals of Mustafa Khan.[3] It was during the siege of Gingee Shahji was arrested and put in fetters on 25 July 1648.

Why was Shahji arrested? The captivity of Shahji as detailed in the Kannada source differs largely from that of Muhammad Nama and Shiva Bharat. According to the Kannada source, the arrest of Shahji was due to Shivaji's aggression in Maharashtra. The Bijapur Sultan directed Shahji to advise

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1. Ibid., M.N., In Shiv. Nib., II. pp. 124-126.
2. Ibid., p. 122.
3. Ibid.,

his son to refrain from anti-Bijapur activities. Shahji advised him. Turning deaf ear, Shivaji plundered the Bijapur territories. Learning this, the Sultan was angry. The Sultan instructed Shahji to capture his son dead or alive. Shahji frankly told that he had no connection with his son and that the Sultan was at liberty to punish him as he thought fit.[1] According to Muhammad Nama, "As the siege lingered on Shahji Raja sent his agent to the Nawab requesting his permission to go to his own dominion, so that his soldiers may get some rest. The Nawab replied that it amounted to creating disturbance if he were to break off at that critical time. Thereupon Shahji Rajah again sent a word to him that in the camp grain was very dear and the soldiers could no longer put up with hardships and trouble and that under those circumstances there was no need of taking any permission and that he would leave for his country without any permission. When the Nawab found that Shahji Rajah was bent upon kicking up a row, he used extreme prudence and skill and imprisoned him".[2]

Another Persian source, Basatin-us-salatin, which J.N. Sarkar holds "very reliable", gives us some additional information. "When the siege of Jinji was going on some incidents happened which became the cause of dis-union and dissatisfaction between the Nawab and Shahji Rajah. Shahji, turning his head

1. Fe.V.V., IX. 150-151.

2. Shiv. Nib., II. p. 124.

aside from obedience to the Nawab, practised opposition. It came to such a pitch that the Nawab thought of plans to arrest him. One day he made Baji Rao Ghorpade, Yeswant Rao and Asad Khan ready and entered the camp of Shahji early in the morning. By chance Shahji, having passed that night in mirth and revelry was sleeping at that time of the dawn. As soon as he came to know about the arrival and intention of Baji Rao and Yeswant Rao, he came out of his tent in great confusion, jumped on his horse and spurred it on alone in order to carry himself to a place of safety. Baji Rao pursued him close and quick, arrested him, brought him before the Nawab and kept him in confinement".[1]

The account of Shiva Bharat is similar to that of Muhammad Nama and Basatin-us-salatin. "Shahji was believed to have become over mighty in the Karnatak and Hindu princes there, under his inspiration had ceased to fear the Muhammadans".[2] So, the Sultan sent Mustafa Khan to arrest Shahji. "Early in the morning the nobles of Mustafa Khan besieged the camp of Shahji. As they had kept awake last night, they had no idea of such a surprise attack and were unprepared and so there was great disorder and tumult in the camp. Mustafa Khan himself was commanding the forces. Then Baji Rao Ghorpade, Yeswanta Rao and others entered the camp of Shahji and thus awakened him. Shahji ordered all his

1. Shiv. Nib.. II. pp.124-125.
2. Shiva Bharat, XI. 3-11.

nobles to be prepared. Then Shahji rode on a powerful horse and attacked Baji Rao Ghorpade. Shahji exchanged blows with the latter and in the end swooned, fell down, wounded and was arrested by Baji Rao himself".[1]

The letters of Abdulla Qutb Shah, in the words of J.N.Sarkar, "give some extremely valuable information on Karnataka history of the time". A letter of Abdulla Qutb Shah informs that on 23 December 1647, the Sultan received a petition from Shahji Bhonsle begging to be taken under his protection but the Sultan rejected his prayer and told him to serve Adil Shah.[2]

On the basis of Persian sources, J.N.Sarkar concludes that "the arrest of Shahji at Jinji was clearly due to these disloyal intrigues. He was coquetting both with the Royal and Qutb Shah and the latter sovereign divulged the fact to Adil Shah".[3]

G.S.Sardesai advances four reasons for the arrest of Shahji. First, the negotiations that went on between Sriranga Raya and Shahji were an open secret. The Sultan of Bijapur was informed of Shahji's support to Sriranga Raya. The Sultan construed the action of Shahji as disloyalty. Secondly, it was exactly at that time Shivaji had captured Sinhgad and practically asserted independence in the district of Poona. The Sultan concluded that Shahji was at the back of his son. Thirdly, after

1. Shiva Bharat, XII. 1-119.
2. Sarkar: Modern Review, 1929, Vol. XLVI, p.12.
3. Ibid.,

having kept a close watch on the movements of Shahji at Vellore as per the instructions of the Bijapur Government Mustafa Khan reported the Sultan that Shahji was not loyal at heart but secretly supported the Hindu faction. Relying upon the convincing report, the Sultan believed that the Hindu chieftains of the South looked up to Shahji for a lead and that if he was not checked in time, it would be difficult for the Muslims to retain their sway in the southern regions. Lastly, the Sultan was worried about Shivaji's activities in Maharashtra. Therefore, G.S.Sardesai concludes that "Bangalore and Sinhgad had turned out to be the danger signals for the ruler of Bijapur".[1] On the whole the contention of G.S.Sardesai is that Shahji's arrest was not so much due to the aggression of Shivaji in Maharashtra as Shahji's own insubordination and disloyalty in the south. G.H.Khare on the basis of a contemporary Marathi document states that "Shahji was arrested as a consequence of misrepresentation at the Adil Shahji court to the effect that he was connected with the Rachewars and the Marathas of Jinji and other places and arranged for their supplies".[2]

Wilk's opinion is that the predatory incursions of Shivaji had retarded the progress of the Bijapur arms, that Shahji was called upon by the Sultan of Bijapur to check the licentious

1. N.H.M. I. pp.82-83.
2. G.H.Khare is at present the Secretary of Bharata Itihasa Samsodak Mandala, Poona. "A document on the influence of Shahji in the South", Journal of Indian History, Vol.XXX. April 1952, p. 19.

conduct of his son and that some of the courtiers suspected a secret communication between the son and the father. Shahji told the Sultan that since he had divorced his first wife with her son, he had no connection with Shivaji. Finally, Wilks concludes that "sufficient evidence however appears to exist, not only of the imputed intercourse but of the deliberate intention of Shahji to establish an independent Government".[1] So, according to Wilks Shahji's disloyal conduct was the reason for his arrest.

What the Kannada source says namely that Shahji was arrested for the aggression of Shivaji cannot be improbable. The Sultan was perturbed over the provocative activites of Shivaji. Shivaji organized the troops of the Mavals, repaired and garrisoned the forts and supplied them with provisions, captured the Sinhgad fort in 1644 and commenced open aggression against Bijapur. The Sultan valued the stability of his own kingdom much more than the distant land like Bangalore, Bednur and Jagadeva Raya's country. The declining health convinced Muhammad Adil Shah that unless some effective steps were taken, it would be impossible to resist Shivaji So, he might have thought of arresting Shahji so that his son would behave better. The Kannada source gives a contributory cause, if not the sole reason for the arrest of Shahji.[2] On 25th July 1648, Mustafa Khan arrested Shahji. While taking Shahji to Bijapur at the instance of the Sultan, Mustafa Khan died on 9 Nov.1648.

1. Wilks, I. p. 47.

2. Ke. N.V., IX. 150-1.

Then the command of the Bijapur army was devolved upon Khan Muhammad who conquered Gingee on 28 December 1648.[1]

From the study of the sources, it is possible to believe that in order to check the progress of the Marathas, the Sultan had three plans, first was to capture Shahji, second was to seize the two important strongholds of the Marathas, Bangalore in the Karnatak and Sinhagad in Maharashtra and the third was that in the event of his failure to take the two places, to conciliate Shahji.[2] Having accomplished the first objective of Shahji's arrest, the Sultan proceeded to implement the second, namely the conquest of Bangalore and Sinhgad. Bangalore was held by Sambhaji and Sinhgad by Shivaji. Both sons were bold and courageous. The Sultan could not feel his conquests safe until the two danger spots were taken. A detachment was despatched from Gingee against Bangalore and another from Bijapur against Sinhgad and the sister fort of Purandar. Both the attacks were repulsed with heavy loss. Sambhaji defended Bangalore successfully, Shivaji too did the same at Purandar.[3] The news of the defeat distressed the Sultan. Having failed in his second plan, the Sultan implemented the third one, namely conciliation with Shahji. He proposed that if Shahji were to surrender Sinhgad and Bangalore, and to serve the Bijapur Government loyally as before, he would be released. Shahji agreed to the compromise and wrote letters to his two sons to

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1. M.N. in Shiv. Nib., II. pp.126-128.
2. Ibid., Shiva Bharat in source book of Maratha History Vol.I. pp.15-20.
3. Shiva Bharat, Chapters XIII and XIV.

deliver Bangalore together with Kandarpi, 40 miles east of Chitradurga, and Sinhgad to the officers of Bijapur. The two sons obeyed promptly. Then the Sultan called Shahji to his presence, honoured him with the robe of a minister and set him at liberty on 16 May 1649.[1] Shahji was restored to his former position and honour and asked to leave for the Karnatak to complete the conquest of Tanjore and other districts. Shahji returned to the Karnatak and remained in Raichur making Kanakagiri his head-quarters.[2]

Shahji was in possession of four Jagirs, one was the Jagir in Maharashtra which was first governed by Dadaji and then Shivaji, the second was Bangalore which was governed by Sambhaji and Ekoji, the third was the Jagadeva Raval's country which although was in charge of Asad Khan was really under the control of Shahji and the fourth was Kanakagiri under himself. With these territories Shahji could count himself a great Maratha leader and an administrator.

What did Kanthirava Narasaraja do during the absence of Shahji from Bangalore? It was a fine opportunity for Kanthirava to extend his schemes of conquest first to the Bijapur zone of influence at Bangalore and then to the Jagadeva Raval's territories at Vellore which were governed by Shahji. Kanthirava concentrated his attention on the conquest of Magadi. Ever since the treaty of

1. M.N. in Shiv. Nib., II. p.128; Shiv. Bharat and Jedhe Chronology in source book of Maratha History.

2. Ibid.,

1638 Magadi had been under the Kempe Gowda family. Under the terms of the treaty of 1638 Kempe Gowda II was entitled to enjoy the protection from the Bijapur Government. Shahji was authorised to collect tribute from Kempe Gowda II and remit it to the Bijapur treasury. As Magadi and Bangalore were not far from each other and as Shahji was the immediate neighbour to Kempe Gowda II, the latter could expect help at any time if he was threatened by an outside power. It seems quite likely that it was only by understanding the closest connection between Shahji and Kempe Gowda II that Kanthirava Narasaraja restrained himself from interfering in the affairs of Magadi upto 1648. Taking advantage of the absence of Shahji from Bangalore, Kanthirava attacked Magadi and took possession of it. In the fight that followed, Mummadi Kempe Gowda son of Kempe Gowda II showed a remarkable military skill. Ekambara Dixit pays particular attention to the brave fight put up by Mummadi Kempe Gowda against the invaders.[1]

In April 1650 Kanthirava renewed his effort, seized Hebbur, a dependency of Magadi and took it by inflicting a crushing defeat on Kempe Gowda II.[2] The latter submitted and accepted the suzerainty of Kanthirava.[3] Shahji could not help Kempe Gowda II, for he had his own difficulties namely that he had been released from confinement a few months ago that he was far away from Bangalor and that he had to care more for the defence of his new territories

1. Ekambara Dixit: Virabhadra Vijaya Champu, No.A.610. Mysore Oriental Library. IV. 41.
2. Annals, I. p.69; C.Vam., p. 39.
3. Mys. Dho. Pur., II. 18.

than assisting his neighbour. As to the question why Ekoji did not help Kempe Gowda at the critical time, it can be said that Ekoji did not like to purchase trouble when his Bangalore principality remained undisturbed by the pillaging activities of Kanthirava. The failure of Shahji to support Kempe Gowda against Kanthirava became the cause for hostility between them. The friendly relations that existed between the two ever since the treat of 1638 was strained and the enmity that was started in 1650 culminated in a war in 1658 when Mummadi Kempe Gowda (1658-1678) stood up in arms against Shahji.[1]

Having reduced Magadi and its dependencies, Kanthirava turned his attention towards Jagadeva Raval's territory consisting of Virabhadradurga, Kanakagiri, Raidurga, Melagiri, Kaveripattan, Ratnagiri, Arjunkot and Dhalenkot. The Jagadeva Raval's country was under Shahji. It was situated to the south east of Bangalore. Asad Khan was the governor for some time and after him Vatibala Rao acted as its governor. The Jagadeva country was the third jagir entrusted to the care of Shahji, the first being his Jagir in Maharashtra and the second being Bangalore in the Karnatak.

Kanthirava undertook the campaign for several reasons. First, it was to restore Sriranga Raya to his former position. Proenza says, "this grand monarch was forced to beg for help from the king of Mysore. He received from him invitation to choose, for his stay, a province more agreeable to him and assurance of a

1. Ekambara Dixit: Vira Bhadra Vijaya Champu.

brilliant treatment worthy of his rank; he eagerly accepted the offer, so obliging and found a hospitality which even surpassed the promises made to his ambassadors".[1] This is corroborated by the Kannada source, Mysore Rajara Charitre.[2] Sriranga Raya stayed in Mysore for two years (1650-52) during which time he regained his strength and decided to recover his kingdom in alliance with Kanthirava Narasaraja. Proenza observes, "Narasinga (Sriranga) had more wisdom, encouraged by the good reception and help of the king of Mysore, he undertook to recover his kingdom. Accordingly, with an army of Mysoreans, he entered the field".[3] Thus Kanthirava undertook the campaign to reinstate Sriranga Raya to his former position. Secondly, Kanthirava allied himself with the Siddi Raiha of Sira who had revolted against the Sultan of Bijapur. Zahur says "The Rajah of Mysore came out of his territory at the instigation of Siddi Raihan and wrested all the forts in the Jagadev country".[4] Thus a combination of three potentates came about. At this stage, Tirumala Nayak of Madura was perturbed. He feared that the combination of the three potentates would endanger his position. He appealed to the Sultan of Bijapur, opened to his army again the passage through the Ghats and urged them to declare war against the king of Mysore.[5] Proenza rightly observes, "Tirumala Nayak, inste of cooperating in the establishment of the affairs of Narasinga, recommenced negotiations with the Muhammadans and urged them to

1. La Mission Du Madure, III. pp.43-44.
2. p.24.
3. La Mission Du Madure, III.p.47.
4. M.N. in Modern Review, 1929, p.502.
5. La Mission Du Madure, III. pp.47-48.

declare war against the king of Mysore".[1]

At the time when the three potentates were invading the Jagadev's territory, Khan Muhammad, the general of the Bijapur army was besieging the fort of Penukonda and it was his plan to return to Bijapur after the fall of Penukonda. But Sayyad Narullah, a representative of the Sultan of Bijapur met Khan Muhammad and urged him to advance on Jagadeva Rayal's territory to crush Kanthirava.[2] Thus a complete change had come about in the Karnatak. The combination of Kanthirava, Sriranga Raya and Siddi Raihan had not only alarmed Tirumala Nayak of Madura who had worked against Sriranga Raya previously but involved the Sultan of Bijapur in a conflict as well. Tirumala Nayak feared that Sriranga Raya with the help of Kanthirava and Siddi Raihan would destroy him. So, he urged action against the three allies and the Sultan ordered Khan Muhammad to proceed from Penukonda and put down Kanthirava. Accompanied by Shahji Khan Muhammad advanced on Jagadeva Rayal's territory.[3]

Between November 1652 and January 1653, Kanthirava and his allies took in rapid succession Ratnagiri, Virabhadradurga, Kengerekote, Pennagara, Denkanikote and Dharmapuri which were governed by Yatibala Rao, Shahji's representative, also called Balaji Haibat Rao by Muhammad Nama.[4] Kanthirava wrested almost all the forts in the

1. La Mission Du Madure, III. pp.47-48.
2. M.N. in Shiv. Nib., II. pp. 132-133.
3. The Hague Transcripts, p.XXIII.
4. Annals, I. p.70; C.Vam., p. 36.

Jagadeva Rayal's country which "Mustafa Khan had conquered with so much effort".[1] Shahji and Khan Muhammad set out for the re-conquest of Jagadev Rayal's territory. Siddi Raihan submitted. They reconquered all the forts wrested by Myssore. Krishnagiri fortress protected by its advantageous position was, besides, defended by good fortification, furnished with a strong artillery and by the troops of Mysore. Khan Muhammad attacked the fort and took it. Kanthirava fled for life.[2]

Evacuating Krishnagiri fort, Kanthirava arrived at Mysore, strengthened the defences of the fort and stood ready to face the enemy. But he was overwhelmed. Khan Muhammad and Shahji pursued Kanthirava upto the Mysore fort, attacked it and took it in addition to other three forts.[3] Sriranga Raya was left alone in Vellore. Undeterred by the defeat of his ally, Sriranga Raya despatched Mir Jumla to the Mughal court for help. This needed the immediate attention of Khan Muhammad. So, Khan Muhammad abandoned the forts recently conquered by him in Mysore and marched towards Vellore.[4] As soon as Khan Muhammad left Mysore, Kanthirava despatched Dasarajay Kaveripattan to fight the invader. Khan Muhammad had to fight at two places, Vellore and Kaveripattan. Kham Muhammad detached Sidi Masud against Dasarajavya. In a sanguinary action fought at Kaveripattan in October 1653, Dasarajayya was defeated and beheaded.[5]

1. M.N. in Modern Review, 1929, p.502.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., Muhammad Nama calls the Mysore Dalvoy as 'Das Raj' and Sarkar spells his name as 'Des Raj'. According to Annals (I. p.89) Dasarajayya was removed from the office as he was not able to discharge his duties satisfactorily due to his old age in November 1653. This is incorrect in the light of M.N., which is more reliable than the Kannada source.

Khan Muhammad besieged the fort of Vellore. Unable to resist the besiegers, Sriranga Raya took flight leaving the garrison to its fate.[1] Realising the futilty of further resistance Sriranga Raya sued for peace. Khan Muhammad granted Chandragiri and its dependences.[2] Taking possession of Kaveripattan and Vellore Khan Muhammad demanded tribute from the Navak of Madura. The Navak told, "first defeat the Rajah of Mysore and then I will give you tribute". This was enough for Khan Muhammad to invade Mysore. Kanthirava offended the Bijapuris sufficiently by resisting them first at Krishnagiri, then at Mysore and Kaveripattan. When Sriranga Raya had indulged in anti-Bijapur activities by soliciting the Mughal aid, Khan Muhammad had left all the conquests in Mysore to Kanthirava and marched on Vellore. By doing this, Khan Muhammad might have thought that Kanthirava would not trouble him further. But contrary to his expectation, Kanthirava had despatched his Dalvoy Dasarajayya to Kaveripattan to fight the enemies. This and the inducement of Tirumala Nayak to declare war against Kanthirava made Khan Muhammad and Shahji invade Mysore territory again. They marched with their army and plundered Mysore. Kanthirava despatched Balaji Haibat Rao to arrest the progress of the enemies.[3] But Balaji was killed by Sidi Masud in the action. Then Kanthirava submitted and entered into a treaty with Khan Muhammad. The terms the treaty were that Kanthirava was to meet the expenses of the war

1. Ibid.
2. Foster. English factories in p.33.
3. Balaji was the Governor of Jagadeva Raya's territory. He had been working under Shahji. When Kanthirava had invaded that territory, he had won Balaji to his side and given him a position befitting his rank. After the death of Dasarajayya, Kanthirava appointed Balaji as the supreme commander of the Mysore army.

and that he was to pay regularly annual tribute in return for the restoration of his devastated kingdom. The treaty was ratified by the Sultan and Mysore was left to Kanthirava.[1] Khan Muhammad received presents as well as tribute from Kanthirava. Before leaving Mysore, Khan Muhammad raised large contributions from the Nayak of Madura and returned to Bijapur with vast booty.[2]

The confederacy consisting of Kanthirava, Sriranga Raya and Siddi Raihan was formed with the object of driving out the Bijapuris from Jagadeva Raval's territory. That means to abrogate the authority of Shahji over Jagadeva Rayal's territory. Sriranga Raya surrendered and entered into a treaty with Khan Muhammad according to which he was given Chandragiri and its dependencies; and lastly Kanthirava also submitted and made peace with Khan Muhammad by agreeing to pay a large sum of money as war indemnity and yearly tribute to the Bijapur treasury, Khan Muhammad collected contributions from Tirumala Nayak also. The only party which was on the gainside was Sriranga Raya, for he got back Chandragiri and its dependencies which he had lost. Kanthirava was humbled and Tirumala was punished.[3] The Sultan's Karnatak expedition was carried to its successful ending because of Khan Muhammad and Shahji Particularly Shahji took a leading role in the campaign of 1652-54 and with the help of Khan Muhammad he was not only able to retain

1. M.N. in Modern Review, 1929, p.502.
2. Ibid., La Mission Du Madure, III.p.48.
3. Ibid., Ibid., pp.47-48.
4. The Hague Transcripts in William Foster's ~~in his~~ English Factories in India (1651-1654), Introduction. p. XXV.

Jagadeva Raval's country as a part of his Karnatak Jagir but to secure the submission of Kanthirava as well. Shiva Bharat says that Shahji went and subdued Sriranga Raya of Vidyanagar(Vijayanagar), Kanthirava of Srirangapatna and Tirumala Nayak of Madura.[1] Shiva Bharat which gives the achievements of Shahji in a summary form states that Shahji conquered the cruel Kanthirava the ruler of Srirangapatna and the brave Sriranga Raya, ruler of Vidyanagar. The brave resistance put up by Kanthirava at Krishnagiri, Mysore and Kaveripattan against Shahji and Khan Muhammad seemed to be the main reason why Kanthirava was branded as cruel. The defeat of Kanthirava by Shahji was further corroborated by an account compiled in Tanjore in the days of Raja Sarfoji in 1803. Though the account is of a later compilation its historical data is not defective. The account maintains that Shahji went on the southern invasion and brought under control Kanthirava of Srirangapatna, Sriranga Raya of Vijayanagar and Tirumala Nayak of Madura. So, it is clear that Shahji cooperated with Khan Muhammad in his conquest of Jagadeva Raval's country, subdued Kanthirava Narasaraja and reestablished his authority over Jagadeva Raval's country. Kanthirava who maintained his independence ever since his accession to the throne of of Mysore was at last reduced by Shahji. Kanthirava accepted the suzerainty of the Bijapur Government by agreeing to pay annual tribute to its Sultan. The conquest of the Karnatak countries was complete and Shahji was at the helm of his affair in 1654. Kannada sources do not mention this important historical event, for in the

1. Shiva Bharat in Rawlinson's Source Book of Maratha History pp.12-13.

first place they are poetical works and as such they do not mention what is inglorious to their master. It is only in Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali that reference is made to the plunder of Vellore and Chandragiri by the Bijapur army.

Viewed from the angle of Mysore-Maratha relations, it can be said that with the defeat of Kanthirava, Shahji's objective of humbling Kanthirava and bringing Mysore under Bijapur control was complete. The relations went from bad to worse. Mysore had not only lost her new conquests in the Jagadeva country but lost her independent status also. The Maratha settlements in the region of Mysore were free from the aggression of Kanthirava. The policy of the Bijapur Government namely the conquest of the Karnatak countries one after another and entrusting them to the care of Shahji increased the power and prestige of Shahji in the Karnatak. For political and administrative purposes, he imported a large number of Maratha families to Mysore from Maharashtra. Their vestiges can be seen even today in the existence of several Maratha families in Mysore after centuries of change.

Shahji's prominance reached its climax in 1654. He was the principal supporter of Adil Shahi possessions in the Karnatak. Ekoji remained at Bangalore and Sambhaji was with his father at Kanakagiri. The wars fought by Bijapur and Golkonda in the Karnatak came to an end by 1654. The Bijapur belt of

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1. Orme: Historical Fragments, p. 62.

territory north of the Kingdom of Mysore comprising Bangalore, Hoskote, Doddaballapur, Chikkaballapur, Kolar and Sira went under the designation of Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat while the territory below the ghats almost coterminous with the southern frontier of Mysore under the designation of Karnatak-Bijapur-Pavanghat. These possessions in addition to Kanakagiri were all governed by Shahji. Kanthirava did not seem to have honoured the terms of the treaty as indicated by his subsequent attitude. Neither the Bijapur Government nor Shahji seemed to have demanded what was due to them from Mysore. Several causes prevented them from pressing for tribute. First, after the successful campaign of 1652-54, Shahji returned to Kanakagiri which became the centre of his activities. Sambhaji also joined his father. Rebellious chieftains around did not allow Shahji to lead a quiet life there. Appakhan, the chieftain of Kanakagiri revolted and proceeded to seize Doddaballapur which was under the control of Shahji. Unable to cope with the situation Shahji appealed to the Sultan of Bijapur. In 1654 the Sultan despatched Afzal Khan to assist Shahji and Sambhaji. In the encounter that followed Sambhaji was killed. The death of Sambhaji was a terrible blow to Shahji.[1] Secondly, Muhammad Adil Shah died on 4 November 1656[2] and intrigues started at Bijapur for succession. Added to this, Aurangzeb, Governor of the Deccan, started aggression against the Bijapur State. This was followed by the death of Khan

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1. Takakhav: Life of Shivaji Maharaj, pp.20-21. Afzal Khan was held responsible for the death of Sambhaji because he failed to reinforce Sambhaji at a critical hour of facing death The popular belief is that Afzal Khan's murder by Shivaji later is just a revenge for his part in the death of Sambhaji.

2. Shivaji Souvenir, p. 15.

Muhammad in 1657, with the result there was none to press for the tribute due from Mysore. Thirdly, Shahji remained at Kanakagiri for three years from 1654-1657 leaving the administration of Bangalore in the hands of his son Ekoji. He was fully occupied with the conquest of new territories and raising the armies in order to keep the frontier tribes in constant awe. Shahji wrote to Adil Shah (1656-1672), " I have been deputed to the expedition against Kanakagiri, and on having carried out the mission successfully, was duly rewarded. Subsequently I was despatched to Anegundi where also I did my duty with credit. My army also remains to be paid for that service".[1] He employed about a thousand and five hundred more men into his service in order to keep the rebellious tribes under constant threat. Shahji conquered Kampli, south east of Anegundi. He built a house and reared a garden as the climate was salubrious. As several regions occupied by Bijapur such as Kundagola, Bellary and Tamgaud were the centres of intrigues and revolt, Shahji was forced to stay there.[2] Lastly, the differences between the Bijapur authorities and Shahji wwwww widened over the question of Shivaji's aggression. Shahji was asked to restrain his son from encroaching upon the Adil Shahi territories. He replied that he was not responsible for his son's conduct and the Bijapur Government might take any steps it deemed fit against him. During the days when the Bijapur Government was declining and the nobles were turning disloyal, it was only Shahji who stood loyal by his master

1. Shivaji Souvenir, p. 138, letter dated 6-7-1657.

2. Ibid., pp. 138 141.

The Bijapur Government addressed a letter on 27 May 1658 to Shahji, "We are satisfied with your explanation that you can not restrain your son and that you are not responsible for his acts. We have therefore restored to you all your jagir at Bangalore together with all the honours and titles which you formerly held".[1] In accordance with the Bijapur order Shahji returned to Bangalore with all his former dignities restored. Thus Shahji's distress over the death of his son Sambhaji at Kanakagiri in 1654, the declining powers of Bijapur, Aurangzeb's aggression against Adil-Shahji territories, the death of Muhammad Adil Shah in 1656 and Khan Muhammad in 1657, Shaji's conquest of Anegundi and Kampli and the differences between Bijapur Government and Shahji all prevented the Bijapur Government from interfering in the affairs of Mysore from 1654 to 1658.

Why did Ekoji of Bangalore not interfere in Kanthirava's affairs? There seemed to be no occasion for Ekoji to interfere in the affairs of Mysore, because soon after the departure of Khan Muhammad from Mysore in 1654, Kanthirava turned his attention toward Tirumala Nayak of Madura who was responsible for the disaster. Proenza observes, "His departure was the occasion for a new war, more furious than the previous ones. The king of Mysore took Tirumala Nayak to task for his disloyal conduct. To wreak just vengeance and compensate himself for the cost of the war, he despatched an army to seize the province of Satyamangalam which border his kingdom".[2] Hamparajayya who was appointed to the command of

1. House of Shivaji, p. 87.
2. La Mission Du Madure, p. 48.

the Mysore army by Kanthirava in May 1655 set out with an army and conquered Satyamangalam where he found vast booty.[1] Highly elated at this success Hamparajayya marched and surrounded Madura. Tirumala Nayak was about to take to his heels. Exactly at that time, Raghunatha Sethupati, the Marava Chief came to the assistance of Tirumala with 25,000 men. Being joined by Tirumala Nayak's army of 35,000, Raghunatha Sethupati fell upon Hamparajaiyya and repulsed him. The retreating army of Hamparajaiyya was pursued into the kingdom of Mysore by Tirumala Nayak.[2] Proenza exaggerates certain points. He says that in the combat that ensured at Madura "each army left nearly 12,000 dead on the battle field", and that when the Nayak's army "burst out into the province of Mysore, the king of Mysore lost his own nose".[3] No Kannada source mentions these events. It is quite likely that Hamparajaiyya as also Tirumala Nayak might have lost some soldiers on the battle field but not to the extent of 12,000 as Proenza thinks. Even with regard to Kanthirava losing his nose, Proenza exaggerated. It is not correctly known whether Kanthirava himself led the army against Tirumala. It is quite likely that his general or his Deputy in charge of the Mysore army might have lost his nose in the general action in Mysore. Any way the war with Madura came to a close by the end of 1658 and this Madura war kept Mysore away from the Marathas. Ekoji was not worried about Mysore as long as his

1. Annals, I. p.89; Mys. Dho. Pur., I. 67; M.E.R.No.170 of 1910-11 dated 1655.

2. La Mission Du Madure, pp.48-50.

3. Ibid., p.49.

territory remained undisturbed by Kanthirava.

Further, almost simultaneously Kanthirava had to face the danger from Shivappa Nayak of Ikkeri (1645-1660). Shivappa was an able ruler among all the Nayaks of Ikkeri and during his reign the dynasty reached the climax of its glory and prosperity. About 1656 Shivappa Nayak invited Sriranga Raya from the forests of his kingdom where he led a miserable life in consequence of the betrayal by the Nayak of Madura and afforded him shelter.[1] Between 1656 and 1659 Sriranga Raya was in the kingdom of Bednur.[2] On the pretext of restoring Sriranga Raya to his former position, Shivappa launched forth his schemes of conquest. Shivappa's power and resources increased so much that he overthrew the yoke of Bijapur Government, asserted his independence and attempted to recover Belur from the hands of Krishnappa Nayak of Arkalgud. Kanthirava assisted Krishnappa Nayak, for there subsisted enmity between the former and Shivappa since 1647. However, Shivappa succeeded in defeating Krishnappa and establishing Sriranga Raya at Belur with Hassan under him about 1659. These factors explain that Kanthirava was fully occupied in his wars with Madura and Ikkeri during the period between 1654 and 1658 and as such there was no occasion for Kanthirava to come into collision with Ekoji of Bangalore.

The Mysore-Maratha relations were thoroughly embittered

1. Ibid., p.48; C.Vam., pp.190-191.
2. Ibid., Ke.N.V., VII. 114.
3. Ke.N.V., VII. C.Vam., 191; E.C., V.Bl.81-82.

in 1658 when war broke out between Shahji and Mummadi Kempe-Gowda of Magadi (1658-78). Eversince the acquisition of Hebbur in 1650 by Mysore, Mummadi Kempe Gowda remained an intimate ally of Kanthirava. Mummadi Kempe Gowda had not forgotten the loss of Bangalore. The existence of the miniature Maratha court at Bangalore under Shahji, that too in his neighbourhood was an additional humiliation to Mummadi Kempe Gowda. Intent upon re-taking Bangalore in alliance with Kanthirava, Mummadi Kempe Gowda declared war against Shahji and inflicted upon him a crushing defeat capturing all the spoils of the war left by him on the field of battle. Ekambara Dixit, the court poet of Mummadi Kempe Gowda, who relates this event, does not mention more details relating to the war between Shahji and Mummadi Kempe Gowda than this defeat.[1] This is because the primary object of the court chronicler was to narrate the car festival of the God Virabhadra but not the war. While narrating the achievements of his patron, he incidentally refers to the war between Shahji and Mummadi Kempe Gowda. Further there is no reference to the expulsion of Shahji from Bangalore. If Mummadi Kempe Gowda had really evicted Shahji, Ekambara Dixit would have mentioned it and credited its patron with more laurels of victory. As no such reference could be found in the work, some mutual understanding must be assumed to have been entered into between Shahji and Mummadi Kempe Gowda sometime in 1658. Bound by the alliance of 1650, Kanthirava aided Mummadi Kempe Gowda to win a victory over Shahji. But

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1. Virabhadra Vijaya Champu.

Kanthirava did not remain for long to enjoy the fruits of victory. In July 1659 Kanthirava died.[1] His death removed from the scene of action an important ruler. His death offered Shahji a fine opportunity to reduce Mysore but the opportunity was missed.

Since Shahji had already been despatched by the Bijapur Government for the purpose of punishing the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore for their disloyal conduct, Shahji could not take advantage of the death of Kanthirava at Mysore.[2] For twenty years (1639-165 Shahji and Kanthirava fought with each other almost frequently. There existed no occasion for them to improve their relations. Shahj cooperated with every general that was despatched by the Bijapur Government on the Karnatak expedition and fought against Kanthirava with varying success. Kanthirava on the other hand resisted every Bijapur general with all his power and resources at his disposal. Mysore suffered greatly by the devastating expeditions of Bijapur. Kanthirava's efforts to exterminate Shahji from Bangalore proved failure. Similarly Shahji's efforts to conquer Mysore failed. Both of them tried to overpower each other but none of them succeed in the adventure. On the whole the Mysore-Maratha relations duri the time of Kanthirava were not improved.

Shahji ruled almost with independent sovereignty. Over a

1. Annals, I. p.93; Mys. Dho. Pur., p.56; Mys. Raj. Ch., p.25.
2. La Mission Du Madure, pp.50-51. Satyanath Iyer (Nayaks of Madura, p.152) assigns 19 March 1659 as the date for the attack of Tanjore by Shahji and Mulla.

large belt of territory comprising the Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat as well as the Karnatak-Bijapur-Payanghat. Kanthirava had extended his kingdom on the north upto Channapatna and Turuvekere coterminous with the Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat, while Channaravapatna had become his north-western limit, in the south he extended his kingdom, as far as Danayakankote and Satyamangala and in the south-east upto Kaveripattan coextensive with the Karnatak-Bijapur-Payanghat, in the east he went to the borderland of Jagadeva country while in the west he extended his kingdom upto Nanjaravapatna in Coorg.

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CHAPTER II

DODDADEVARAJA WODEYAR'S RELATIONS WITH SHAHJI AND EKOJI (1659-1673)

Doddadevaraja Wodeyar, son of Muppina Devaraja Wodeyar ascended the throne of Mysore on 19 August 1659.[1] His rule for nearly thirteen and a half years (1659-1673) was full of political and military activities. In his relations with Shahji and Ekoji, he continued the traditional policy of hostility. An occasion was offered itself to improve his relations with the Marathas but Bahlul Khan and Shahji, the Bijapur generals, deceived the Mysore Raja and avoided all possibilities of good relationship. It was Shivappa Nayak's invasion of Mysore in 1659 that provided the opportunity for Doddadevaraja and Shahji to improve their relations but the opportunity was missed.

At the time of Doddadevaraja's accession to the throne, Shahji was in Madura. Muthu Virappa Nayak, successor of Tirumala Nayak of Madura, turned disloyal and refused to pay the tribute due to the Bijapur Government. He showed war-like preparations by fortifying Trichinopoly and providing it with stores and provisions This alarmed Vijayaraghava Nayak of Tanjore. Fearing the war-like preparations of Madura ruler, Vijayaraghava appealed to Bijapur for help. The Sultan of Bijapur commissioned "Sagosi"(Shahji) and "Mulla" (Mulla Muhammad) to Tanjore. Shahji and Mulla Muhammad

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1. Mys. Dh. Pur., I, p.57; II.p.23; Annals, I, p.95; Mys. Raj. Cha., p.25. Appendix-2.

reached Trichinopoly and invested the fort. "Defended by a strong artillery and numerous troops, provisioned for several years, it could defy the besiegers".[1] Terrified by the defences of the fortress of Trichinopoly which was the key to the Madura kingdom, Shahji and Mulla withdrew. Pretending to devastate the surrounding country, they fell on Tanjore and took it. Money seemed to be the governing principle of their conquest. The fall of Tanjore was followed by that of Mannar Kovil and Vannam.[2] A severe famine broke out as a result of the war. It carried away a large number of Shahji's men and horses. Frightened by the sad plight of his troops, Shahji and Mulla proposed to the Nayaks that they would leave the country in case they paid the tribute of three years. The Nayaks offered them a moderate sum and secured their retreat.[3] These conquests in the region of Madura had kept Shahji out of the pale of what was happening in the kingdom of Mysore.

Under Doddadevaraja Wodeyar, the traditional policy of hostility towards Bijapur was relaxed and consequently Shahji too had to relax his hostile attitude towards Mysore. But the relaxation of hostility was a short-lived one. The circumstances that led to a change of policy was the invasion of Mysore by Shivappa Nayak of Ikkeri in October 1659.[4] Shivappa Nayak invaded Mysore for two reasons, first was that Kanthirava Narasaraja had turned down the peace offerings of Shivappa Nayak in 1647 and

1. La. Mission Du Madure, pp.50-51.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., pp.119-120.
4. Ke.N.V., VII.

the second was that the former had assisted Krishnappa Nayak of Arkalgud against Ikkeri. Taking advantage of the death of Kanthirava, Shivappa invaded Mysore and arrived at Grama in Hassan. Hamparajayya, the Mysore Dalvoy went and encountered the Ikkeri army but was defeated.[1] Encouraged by the success, Shivappa Nayak marched on Mysore and invested the fort of Srirangapatna. Doddadevaraja Wodeyar was perturbed. In his anxiety to save the capital, he appealed to Bijapur for help. As was the practice, the Sultan of Bijapur sent Bahlul Khan from Bijapur to help Doddadevaraja Wodeyar.[2] Lingappa Kavi who mentions Bahlul Khan does not refer to Shahji. This can not be taken to mean that Shahji was not present at Mysore and that he did not join Bahlul Khan in his efforts to punish Shivappa Nayak. The past record of Shahji in the Karnatak reveals that whenever Bijapur had undertaken the Karnatak expeditions, Shahji had been directed to co-operate with the generals of the expedition. As Shahji had been a loyal Bijapur officer in the Karnatak, he used to work whole-heartedly for their successful campaigns. He had assisted Ranadulla Khan, Mustafa Khan, Khan Muhammad and Mulla Muhammad during their expeditions to the Karnatak between the period from 1637 to 1659. And as such it must be presumed that Shahji did take part in this expedition against Shivappa Nayak who had invested the fort of Srirangapatna. There was also a reason for Shahji to punish Shivappa Nayak. Shivappa who had assisted Mustafa Khan in his

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1. Ibid., XII., p.114., Vs. 38-43.
2. Ibid.

Karnatak expedition had turned disloyal and overthrown the yoke of Bijapur. He had conquered Vasudhare, Sakrepatna and other places from Bijapur between 1647 and 1652.[1] After the death of Muhammad Adil Shah, Shivappa had taken the forts of Ikkeri, Soraba, Udagani, Mahadevapura, Amboligolla, all in Shimoga District, belonging to Bijapur. So, Shahji thought that Shivappa should be punished. The combined army of Bijapur and Mysore under Bahlul Khan, Shahji and Hamparajayya respectively proceeded to meet the challenge. Shivappa, a shrewd diplomat that he was, won Bahlul and Shahji to his side and induced them to return to the country. The policy of Shivappa was to isolate the enemy from his allies and then to attack the Mysore army. Despite this diplomatic move, Shivappa could not take the fort, for Dalvoy Hamparajayya resorted to stratagem bribed the commandants of the Ikkeri troops and compelled the enemy to withdraw. The retreating army was pursued and the spoils of the war were taken by the Mysore army. In January 1660 Shivappa reached Ikkeri sustaining a heavy loss in men and materials.[2] The policy pursued by Bahlul Khan and Shahji was not consistent. They seemed to have agreed to render assistance to the Mysore ruler not with the object of preserving Mysore from Shivappa's aggression but to gain their own ends. Shivappa's diplomacy worked successfully and consequently Bahlul Khan and Shahji withdrew leaving Doddadevaraja Wodeyar to his own fate. But Doddadevaraja Wodeyar, cleverer than Shivappa, bribed the commandant of the Ikkeri troops and won the day.

1. Ke.N.V., VII. p. 108.
2. Ibid.

For three years (1660-1662) Shahji did not interfere in the affairs of either Bednur or Mysore, because from 1660 to 1661 he was in Gingee to undo the work of Chokkanatha Nayak, successor of Muthu Virappa Nayak of Madura, namely to break up the combination formed by Chokkanatha with the object of re-establishing "the ancient king of Bisnagar (Vijayanagar) in his country, to give Gingee to its Nayak and thus to remove the evils that had resulted from the mistaken policy of Tirumala Nayak".[1] In 1661 Shahji succeeded in conquering the forts of Tegnapatam (Cuddalore) and Porto Novo[2] and in 1662 he went to Poona in order to bring about reconciliation between his son, Shivaji and the Sultan of Bijapur. Towards the end of 1662 Shahji returned to Bangalore.

Shahji practically had no rest towards the end of his life in the Karnatak. There arose misunderstanding between the ruler of Sode and Bhadrappa Nayak of Ikkeri who succeeded Shivappa in 1660. The former in his anxiety to crush Bhadrappa Nayak sough the military aid of the Bijapur Sultan. The Sultan commissioned Shahji to invade the Bednur kingdom. With him were the other Bijapur generals such as Bahlul Khan, and Sharja Khan. Being reinforced well in time by numerous elephants, horses and infantry, Shahji started on his expedition. The advancing Bijapur army was met by the Ikkeri army under the command of Jatapana Bhadrappa, brother of Shivappa Nayak at a place called Amabaligolla near

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1. La Mission Due Madure, p.121.
2. English Records on Shivaji, pp.33-34.

Bhuvanagiri. In the fierce battle that was fought there Shahji won a victory over the Ikkeri army. Highly elated at this success, Shahji moved on and finally encamped near Bednur with a view to conquering the fort. The Bijapur Sultan himself arrived in Bednur to conduct the operation. Shahji invested the fort of Bhuvanagiri with the help of the additional army of the Sultan. On the other hand, Bhadrappa Nayak defended the fort ably. Before this well conducted defence of Bhadrappa Nayak, Shahji and his vazirs were forced to retrace their steps from the scene of action. The hostility was terminated by the conclusion of a treaty with the Sultan of Bijapur through the mediation of Huvaiya, the Bednur representative.[1] The Dutch source, Batavia Dagh Register, howeve mentions that an indemnity of 150,000 pagodas was fixed.[2] It is only in the Kannada source we can get this phase of Shahji's war with Bhadrappa Nayak of Bednur. Another point brought into light by the Kannada source is Shahji's conflict with the commander of th Mysore army namely Nandinathaiya (1662-1669). The latter started his vigorous activities for the seizure of those principalities which were governed by Shahji. The reason for his conquest was that Shahji who had come to support Doddadevaraja in his war with Shivappa, had betrayed his ally by joining hands with the Ikkeri Nayak in 1659.[3] This territorial aggrandisement provoked both the Bijapur Sultan and Shahji alike. The conquest of

1. Ke. N.V., VIII, p.120.
2. Dagh Register, 1664, p. 320.
3. Ke.N.V., VII, p.108.

Chikkanayakanahalli by Nandinathaiya came as a shock to Shahji.[1] Then the victorious commander went and demanded tribute from Chikka Kempegowda of Gaganagiri. The latter stoutly refused the demand and offered war in which he was totally defeated. Thereupon Nandinathaiya occupied Gaganagiri and looted all the treasures hidden in the palace. After taking the other minor place on the way, Nandinathaiya went and invested the fort of Bangalore.[2] Mysuru Dhoregala Purvothara says that "Shahji of Bangalore was next attacked and his elephants, horses and belongings were all taken possession of. Those that submitted were given protection and their insignias and tributes were accepted by Nandinathaiya".[3] This war seemed to be more in the nature of a plundering raid than the real conquest. It is quite likely that Shahji bought off the enemy by paying a small sum and it is too much if we take the literal meaning of Mysuru Dhoregala Purvothara, that Nandinathaiya took possession of Bangalore.

The disastrous consequence of the Bangalore war was that Shahji was urgently summoned by the Bijapur Sultan. On arrival at Bankapur Shahji and Bahlul Khan were put in fetters.[4] Shahji was, however, released after two days and was commissioned to march against the ruler of Bednur who was up in arms violating the treaty concluded in the recent war through the mediation of Huvaiya. This

1. Annals, I, p.97. This work says that Chikkanayakanahalli was held by Golkonda Sultan which is apparantely incorrect as we kn that it was held by Shahji - see Wilks, I, p.37; Archaeological Report of 1942, p.89.
2. Kaifiyat of Dynasty of Kalale- Archaeological Report of 1942, pp.89-90; Annals, I, p.97.
3. Mys.Dho.Pur., p.21; Bengaluru Shahji Ravanamele Dandetti Yavar ane Kudurevam vididu mugugalam Koyisi yi Bengaluru adivada Sutt Sthalangala nellarigu abhayapradhanamam Kothi, yi Bengaluru Kat Kondu alli Yidda a vudha pirangigalam vasaprati madikondu.
4. <u>English Records on Shivaji</u>, I, 67.

explains that the main reason for Shahji's arrest was his ill-conducted defence against the besiegers and his consequent defeat at the hands of Nandinathaiya.

Shahji died in 1664 after an eventful career of 26 years in the Karnatak. Linganna Kavi says that Shahji died of a disease in the vicinity of Sira while he was proceeding from Tanjore to Bijapur.[1] The Kannada account does not agree with the prevailing version that Shahji died while hunting.[2] Perhaps, Linganna Kavi while writing Keladi Nripa Vijaya, might have been misinformed about this incident and therefore this may be relegated to the background as incorrect.

Scholars like Grant Duff and Balakrishna think that Shahji died at Basavapatna. Grant Duff says, "On Shivaji's return, he heard the death of his father which happened by an accidental fall from his horse when hunting in January 1664 at the village of Basavapatna".[3] This account has been repeated in Balakrishna's work "Shivaji the Great".[4]

It is found to be incorrect since the Brindavan and epitaph of Shahji have been found now at Hodigere, a small village in Channagiri Taluk, Shimoga district. It is 25 miles from Basavapatna.

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1. Ke. N.V., Ch. IX, p.152.
2. N.H.M. Vol.I, pp.83-84; J.N.Sarkar; House of Shivaji.
3. History of the Maharattas, Vol.I, p.160.
4. Shivaji the Great, p.94.

It is true that Shahji was despatched by the Sultan against Bhadrappa Nayaka of Ikkeri who became refractory. Shahji went and defeated him. After accomplishing his mission, he started his return journey to Bangalore. While halting at Hodigere, he heard that wild beasts were giving a lot of trouble to the villagers. Shahji who was then 60 years of age went out on horse back to hunt these animals. During the course of hunting his horse's foot got entangled in a hole and both horse and the rider fell, the latter dying instantly. Shahji's death occurred, according to Jedhe on 23rd January 1664.[1] Shahji's Brindavan or tomb was also found along with the inscription in Hodigere. The inscription runs as follows:

First line ....Sri Shaji

Second line ....Rajana sa ....

After the word 'sa' the stone is broken. The original word was evidently "samadhi" as on Bahut Ramappa's epitaph which is nearby. The enclosed portion of the field even today is called by the name "Lavadahola" which means Stable's field - perhaps Shahji's stable. In the middle of the field is a low platform of brick and mortar about 9' x 3' x 1'. A tapering stone pillar stands near the head with a lamp niche carved near its top. A little to its east is said to have stood a stone slab with an inscription mentioned above

1. Mysore Archaeological Report, 1940, pp.58-59. Even today the people of Shimoga District remember the name of Shahji and welcome people of great historical interest to visit Hodigere where Shahji died.

in Kannada, meaning thereby "this is the tomb of Shahji Raja".

Shahji's funeral ceremony was conducted by Ekoji, his son. Soon after this, Ekoji got a confirmation sanction from Adil Shah of Bijapur to the heritage of his father. The joy of Shivaji, for having sacked Surat which gave him a lot of fund for furtherance of his object was marred at the tragic news of the death of his father. Jija Bai wanted to become sati but was prevented by the great exertion of Shivaji. Shivaji got a pavilion or Chatri put up at the place of his father's death. Adil Shah issued a sannad granting Vergatanahalli for maintaining worship at the pavilion.[1]

The study of the Kannada sources reveals that Shahji was an able man both as a general and as an administrator. Shahji marched on the Karnatak expedition of 1638, as second in command to Ranadulla Khan, the general of the Bijapur army and after the conquest of Bangalore he was left in charge of it. The conquests made in the Karnatak by Bijapur were all left to the care of Shahji. By 1660 he was not only the ruler of the Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat but the Karnatak-Bijapur-Payanghat as well. Starting the conquests of the Karnatak countries in the name of the Bijapur Sultan, slowly but steadily he had worked up to build up a pretty big Government for himself. As the Bijapur Sultan exercised very little power over his Karnatak possessions, there is no wonder, if Shahji had built up

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1. Mysore Archaeological Report, 1940. pp.58-59; Sardesai: New History of the Marathas, Vol.I., p. 84.

a court at Bangalore which resembled almost a royal splendour. As Bangalore and Mysore were not far from each other, the clash of interests were inevitable. Shahji from Bangalore and Kanthirava from Srirangapatna opposed each other.

In reviewing the Mysore-Maratha relations during the time of Shahji, three powers attract our attention, first was Bijapur, second was Shahji and third was Mysore. Bijapur was always ready to fish in the troubled sea of the Karnatak politics in general and Mysore politics in particular. An appeal from a Karnatak chieftain was enough for the Sultan to fit out an expedition against the Karnatak. The main reason for this policy was that after the treaty of 1636 between the Mughals and the Bijapur Sultan the latter was convinced that Bijapur expansion in the south was more profitable and practicable than in the north. Mysore was their favourite field of exploit.

From 1637 to 1648 expeditions to the Karnatak were undertaken almost every year under able generals like Ranadulla Khan, Mustafa Khan, Khan Muhammad and others. In all these campaigns Shahji played a leading role making Bangalore the seat and centre of his activities. The ambition of Shahji to carve out an independent principality in the Karnatak and the frequent expeditions that were fitted out into the Karnatak by the Sultan against Mysore desiring Shahji to participate in the campaigns were the main obstacles in the way of better relations between Mysore and the Marathas and Mysore and the Bijapuris.

Another feature is that Shahji remained loyal to the Bijapur Government throughout his life in the Karnatak. He fought for the cause of Bijapur but he had not forgotten the inner idea that these wars were not without advantages for him. Gold and land were the ultimate objectives of the Bijapur Sultan in undertaking the Karnatak expeditions. Gold went to the Bijapur treasury and land went to the possession of Shahji. Bijapur Sultan exercised very little power over his distant possessions. Consequently, Shahji grew powerful and actuated by the dominant impulse of establishing an independent Government for himself he came into bitter conflict with the rulers of Mysore who were his immediate neighbours. At no time they were friendly with each other. Shahji's policy was to promote his own interests for which he would favour any one who would help him in his designs.

Several factors contributed to widen the gulf between Shahji and the rulers of Mysore. The frequent incursions of Bijapur, the unimaginative Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore, Gingee and Bednur, the Vijayanagar emperor's delicate relations with the Nayaks and his hostile relations with Bijapur and the ambitious plan of Mysore to extend its geographical limits never brought Mysore and the Marathas closer together.

Shahji was succeeded by his son, Ekoji in 1664.[1] He

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1. Ekoji is spelt differently by several writers. Grant Duff spells his name as Venkajee, Elphinstone spells as Venkaji, Scott Angojee, Wilks Eccojee. Tuka Bai, the second wife of Shahji was Ekoji's mother. Ekoji was born in 1630 and he grew up under the loving care of his father in the Karnatak. (contd.)

secured the confirmation sanction from the Sultan of Bijapur for all the Karnatak possessions which he had inherited from his father and "assumed forms and demonstrations of royalty still more direct and pompous than those adopted by his father".[1] This grandeur was possible at Bangalore because Bijapur declined and consequently, its control over its distant territorial possessions was relaxed. He controlled and regulated the affairs of the Karnatak. He stationed Vedoji Pant at Gingee and Anantoji at Tanjore and instructed them to keep a close watch on the movements and activities of the chieftains of the south.[2]

During the period from 1664 to 1666 nothing particular happened in his relations with Mysore. But in 1667 Ekoji came into conflict with Doddadevaraja. The occasion for the conflict was the projected expansion of Mysore in further south. Doddadevaraja defeated Ghatta Mudaliar of Samballi in January 1667 and incorporated his territories into the kingdom of Mysore. Chokkanatha Nayak of Madura was alarmed. There were three reasons for his fear, first, Ghatta Mudaliar was his immediate neighbour and an intimate ally and his reduction by Mysore was not a thing to be tolerated; secondly, the extension of Mysore territory up to the kingdom of Madura was a

(foot-note continued from previous page)
He participated in the campaigns of Srisailam and Tanjore in 1658. Ekoji accompanied his father wherever he went and participated in whatever events his father was involved. He accompanied his father to Poona in 1662 and saw the old jagirs of his father. He acted as the Governor of Kolar from 1662 to 1663 as indicated by an inscripti found in Kolar District (E.C.X, Sd.47, p.185). He gained sufficient knowledge in both military operations and administration of territories. He was of great help to his father.

1. Wilks, Vol.I., p.48.
2. C.Vij., V. 37; Krishnaswami Aiyangar: Ancient India, p. 296.

dangerous project from the Nayak's point of view and lastly, Mysore and Madura were the traditional enemies and each attempted to put down the other whenever opportunities occurred to them. In order to arrest the progress of Mysore in the south, Chokkanatha formed a confederacy consisting of Sriranga Raya, the last ruler of Vijayanagar, Vedoji Pant and Anantoji early in 1667.[1] Though these Maratha generals figure prominently in the war of 1667, there is no reference in the sources to the presence of Ekoji. It is not proper to presume that Vedoji Pant and Anantoji acted independently and joined Chokkanatha on their own accord without the knowledge of Ekoji. The policy of the Bijapur Government has been to authorise its Maratha representative at Bangalore to have full control over all his Karnatak possessions.[2] Ekoji was the loyal representative of the Bijapur Governnent in the Karnatak with several Maratha generals working under him. Therefore it is quite likely that Vedoji Pant and Anantoji were instructed by Ekoji to support Chokkanatha against Mysore. Thus occasion arose for the revival of the traditional policy of hostility between the Mysore Raja and the Marathas.

Why did Sriranga Raya and the Marathas join Chokkanatha against Mysore? Sriranga Raya followed no consistent policy towards the Karnatak chieftains. He was very anxious to retrieve the past glory of the empire and to realise his ambition he was

1. C.Vij., V.37; Krishnaswami Aiyangar: Ancient India, p.296.
2. K.N.V., XI., V.66.

ready to help those that would help him. He had come and stayed in Mysore for two years (1650-1652) with the object of regaining his territories with the help of the Mysore Raja but Kanthirava's attempts proved failure.[1] Then he had gone to Bednur but Shivappa died in 1660 and with his death had disappeared the last hope of Sriranga Raya.[2] Doddadevaraja did not do anything to restore Sriranga Raya to his former position. On the contrary, he asserted his independence and omitted to make mention of his overlord in all his inscriptions. In all the inscriptions, lithic and copper plate ranging from April 1663 to March 1664 Doddadevaraja appears with a number of titles implying imperial ideas. The chief among them are Muru Mannevara Ganda (Champion over three chiefs), Para Raya Bhayankara (dreaded by enemy kings), Hindu Raya Suratrana (Sultan of Hindu kings), Nana Varna Makuta Mandalikara Ganda (Champion over chiefs of many coloured crowns) and Chatusamudradhiswara or Chatusamudra - Paryantha - bhumandaladhiswa a (Lord of the world as far as four oceans).[3] The use of the boar seal is also in evidence in some of these records while there is a marked tendency on the part of Doddadevaraja to claim imperial rule from the throne of Srirangapatna.[4] The absence of the name of Sriranga Ray in all these inscriptions shows that Doddadevaraja cared very little

1. M.N., in Shiv. Nib, II, p.133; La Mission Du Madure, III, p.47.
2. We have a number of inscriptions of Sriranga Raya from Belur, ranging from 1659 to 1663. See Mysore Gazetteer, ii, iii, 2352-2353, 2366-2367, 2386. E.C., V (1) and (2), HN.39 and Mj(21). In the light of Mysur Dhoregala Purvothara(II,pp.24-26 it can be said that Sriranga Raya left Belure for South not late than April 1663.
3. E.C., Mys.Dis.Supplemental Vol., Mys. 114, 27-28; XII, Kg, 33, ii, 9-11; 3, 7, 11, 92-101; M.A.R., 1917, pp.58-59; E.C., IV(2) Kr.67; III (1) TN.23, ii, 6-18; Md.114 and Sr.13, (1664.)
4. E.C. Mys. Dis.Supplemental Vol., Mys. 114, ii. 48-49; XII Kg.33, I. 12; 37, ii, 98-99; M.A.R., 1917, I. C; E.C., IV(2) Kr.67, ii. 12-13; III (1) TN.23, Md.114 and Sr.13(1664).

to the declining Vijayanagar empire. Moreover Doddadevaraja assumed the title, Samrat (emperor) in 1665 and in the subsequent year he plundered Holenarasipur and its dependencies which were once ruled by Sriranga Raya during his stay at Belur (1660-1663).[1] Sriranga Raya was offended by the aggressive attitude of Doddadevara In order to punish the Mysore Raja, Sriranga Raya joined Chokkanatha

The reason for the Marathas joining Chokkanatha was their deep rooted hostility towards Mysore. At no time did they live in amity with the Mysore Rajas. It was their policy to arrest the progress of Mysore wherever it was possible. When Chokkanatha appealed to the Marathas for help, they immediately joined him. Being joined by these confederates, Chokkanatha went and laid siege to the fort of Erode.[2]

Doddadevaraja was perturbed over the disturbing activities of Chokkanatha and his allies. He summoned the war council. Chikka devaraja Wodeyar who was to play a vital role in the changing politics of Mysore in later years, then 22 years of age, volunteered to be in charge of the expedition. Doddadevaraja was glad at the daring qualities of the promising son but realising the gravity of the situation at Madura he gave the supreme command of the Mysore army to Kumaraiya, successor of Nandinathaiya and permitted Chikka-devaraja to accompany Kumaraiya.[3]

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1. Ibid., My.116(1665), ll. 9-11; Mys. Dho.Pur., II. 27; Annals, I., 97; C.Vij., V., 94.
2. C.Vij., V. 39-40.
3. Ibid., 39-90.

By making rapid marches, the Mysore army reached Erode in June 1667. A terrible battle was fought under the walls of Erode in which Anantoji was put to flight, Damarlayappa Nayak, an important general of Chokkanatha, was put to the sword and the Madura army was pursued.[1] It was a distinct victory to Mysore. After incorporating Erode into the kingdom of Mysore, Kumaraiya went and took Dharapuram in November 1667 and in February 1668 he conquered Vamalur, Kamalur and Samballipura.[2] Chokkanatha was reduced and compelled to pay tribute to Mysore.[3]

The results of this war were that the important places of Madura such as Erode, Dharapuram and Trichinopoly were included in the southern zone of Mysore; the pride of Chokkanatha was crushed and the hope of Sriranga Raya to humble Doddadevaraja was failed.[4] Viewed from the angle of Mysore-Maratha relations, the battle of Erode reveals that the Maratha generals followed a policy which Shahji had adopted towards Mysore, namely helping the opponents of the Mysore Rajas but not directly involving themselves in wars against them. The reasons for this attitude seem to be that they were in a distant place and their armies and equipments were inadequate to face the Mysore army in an open battle. On the whole the Maratha influence during the time of Ekoji was checked and the relations between Doddadevaraja and Ekoji were strained.

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1. Ibid; E.C., (1) Sr.14(1686), ii. 36-38; Hastigiri Mahatmya, I., 67. Regarding the date of the event, R.Sathyanatha Aiyer (Tamila-am in the 17th century p.53) assigns 1670 on the basis of epigraphi evidences but Wilks (I., p.37), Mys.Dh.Pur(II, 28-29) fix the dat of the event as June 1667.
2. Mys. Dho. Pur., II., 28-39; Annals, I, p.97; Mys. Raj. Cha., I.C; C.Vij., V.91 and E.C., III (i) Sr.14.
3. Annals, I. 98; Mys.Raj.Cha., I.C; C.Vij., Vs 95-96.
4. Being frustrated in his ambition, Sriranga Raya went first to Trichinopoly and then to Penukonda in 1668 from where continued h rule till 1672. (English Records on Shivaji, Vol.I., p.232).

Ekoji's conquest of Tanjore is an important mile-stone in the history of the Mysore - Maratha relations. It stood in the way of better relations between the Mysore Raja and Ekoji. Ekoji shifted the capital from Bangalore to Tanjore. It was an unwise policy. The transferrence of the capital showed the hollowness of the Maratha principality. In later years it dealt a death-blow to the Maratha interest in Mysore.

As to the point who conquered Tanjore, sources differ. The Kannadas sources, Keladi Nripa Vijaya and the Annals of the Mysore Royal Family state that Tanjore was conquered by Shahji, father of Ekoji. Keladi Nripa Vijaya says that Shahji "failed to bring about reconciliation between the Bijapur Sultan and Shivaji who followed anti-Bijapur activities. The Sultan was angry. Unabl to meet the Sultan, Shahji went to the south with his son Ekoji and captured the fortress of Candavuru (Tanjore) in the neighbourhood of Madura".[1] According to Annals of the Mysore Royal Family, Shahji went and conquered Tanjore because of Kanthirava's aggression. It says, "finding it difficult to live in Bangalore in face of the oper aggression of Kanthirava Narasaraja, Shahji went to Tanjore. Vijaya raghava Nayak was its ruler. He was a devotee of a Telugu priest. By his influence, Vijayaraghava renounced his royal duties and assumed those of an ascetic. Shahji studied the political situatic of the Tanjore kingdom. At a suitable opportunity, Shahji attacked

1. Ke. N. V., p.151.

Tanjore, drove out its ruler and laid the foundations of the Maratha power there"[1] None of these points seems to be correct because Shahji remained loyal to the Bijapur Government throughout his career in the Karnatak and as such there is no point in Shahji's breaking connection with the Bijapur Government and founding a separate kingdom for himself. As to the point of Kanthirava's aggression, it is well known that Shahji faced Kanthirava boldly in all his wars. The authors of the Kannada sources, while recording these political events, might have been misinformed or have depended on unreliable sources.

The non-Kannada sources point to a different conclusion. They say that the conquest of Tanjore was the work of Ekoji after th death of his father. The Telugu sources, Tanjavuri Andhra Rajalu Charita and Tanjavuri Vari Charita say that Ekoji marched into the kingdom of Tanjore, defeated Alagiri Nayak, its ruler and took possession of it. Ekoji crowned Chengamaladasa as the ruler of Tanjore according to the instructions of the Bijapur Sultan. By the mischief of Venkanna, the Secretary of the Tanjore ruler, Ekoji invaded Tanjore again. Chengamaladasa took to flight and Ekoji occupied Tanjore without any difficulty.[2] Andre Freire's letter of 1676, Wilks and Nelson agree in stating that the conquest of Tanj was effected by Ekoji. Andre Freire writes, "The Nayak of Madura after the disastrous war took possession of the kingdom of Tanjore a cut off the head of the king, his enemy. Idal Khan, informed of

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1. Annals, I, p.109.
2. <u>The Nayaks of Tanjore</u>, p. 164.

these events, sent an army under the command of General Ekoji to reestablish on the throne of Tanjore, the son of the defeated king who had gone to implore his help. Ekoji remained for one full year on the frontiers of the kingdom and convinced of the follies and mutal jealousies between the two brothers (Chokkanatha Nayak of Madura and Alagiri Nayak of Tanjore), Ekoji fell on the town of Tanjore and captured it. General Ekoji, instead of placing the son of the late Nayak on the throne, preferred to usurp the title and authority of an independent king".[1]

Depending upon a Tamil manuscript in the Mackenzie collection, Wilks says that Ekoji undertook the expedition against Tanjore with a view to conquest on his own account, but under the ostensible authority of the Government of Bijapur.[2] Nelson also says that the conquest of Tanjore was effected by Ekoji.[3] Thus it is clear that Ekoji conquered Tanjore.

What were the circumstances for the shifting of Ekoji's capital from Bangalore to Tanjore? Two factors were mainly responsible for the change of the Maratha capital. One was the Mysore aggression and the other was the confusing political situation in Madura region. Doddadevaraja projected his schemes of expansion in the north. He attacked and occupied Huliyurdurga in December 1667. Kunigal

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1. La Mission Du Madure, III, pp. 247-250.
2. Wilks, I. p. 93. "From a comparison of authorities I am disposed to suspect that the author (of the manuscript) confounds this event with some former invasion for the purpose of levying contributions, one of which we know to have occured in 1656. The terms of the submission of Tanjore on that occasion may have been considered equivalent to the actual conquest, but the final occupation of that country was probably be achieved by Ekojee after the death of his father."
3. The Madura Manual, p. 194.

was wrested from Mummadi Kempe Gowda of Magadi in January 1668.[1] These conquests in the neighbourhood of Bangalore alarmed Ekoji. Apart from Doddadevaraja's aggression, Ekoji had to live in the midst of hostile surroundings. Mummadi Kempe Gowda of Magadi was his bitter opponent. He was not reconciled to the stay of the Marathas at Bangalore. His war of 1658 against Shahji was a clear indication of his attitude towards the Marathas.[2] Ekoji's position became still worse when Mysore launched its expedition in the east in 1673. Vedoji Pant and Anantoji who were placed at Gingee and Tanjore respectively were awakened to the danger from the extension of Mysore territory to the region of Madura.[3] Chikkadevaraja took in rapid succession the forts of Dhuligote, Malali,[5] Muttanjatti, Paramatti and Salem.[4] Proceeding further, Chikkadevaraja ~~took in~~ met Chokkanatha Nayak in an open battle at Sadamangalam and defeated him. Thereafter the chiefs of Ananthagiri, Ariyalur, Toreyur and Dharapuram were reduced and compelled to pay tribute. Thus Ekoji was hard pressed by the Mysore aggression.

The second factor was the confusing political situation in the south. Ekoji exploited the situation for his own advantages. The occasion was the conflict between Madura and Tanjore. In the action that followed Chokkanatha Nayak of Madura killed Vijayaraghava

1. Mys. Dho. Pur., II. 29; Annals, I. 97; C.Vij., V.93-94; Hastigiri Mahatmya, I. 67.
2. Virabhadra Vijaya Champu, I.C.
3. Ancient India, p.296.
4. Kamandaka Niti., I. 81; Kamalachala Mahatmya, I. 123-126; C. Bin., p.59; Bhagavadgita Tiku, I, 53; Gita Govinda, pp.38 & 69.
5. Sachchudrachara Nirnaya, I, 52; A.V.C., III, 58, 63 and 79,88; C.Bin and Gita Govinda I.C; Kamalachala Mahatmya, I, 127-129; Hastigiri Mahatmya, I. 75.

Nayak of Tanjore and appointed Alagiri Nayak, his foster-brother to be the Viceroy of Tanjore. Alagiri grew indifferent in later years. He declared independence as a ruler of Tanjore, and showed no respect to his brother. Taking advantage of this, Venkanna, an officer of Vijayaraghava Nayak of Tanjore wished to restore the old dynasty in the person Changamaladasa, a boy of the Nayak family. Venkanna implored the help of the Bijapur Sultan. The latter despatched Ekoji with instructions to depose Alagiri and enthrone the boy of the Nayak family. Ekoji accomplished the task ably. Venkanna played mischief and induced Ekoji to take possession of Tanjore for himself. Ekoji went and occupied Tanjore in 1675 establishing Maratha rule there.[1] Thereafter he shifted the capital from Bangalore to Tanjore. Tanjore remained a principal centre of the Maratha activities after 1675. Ekoji retained his control over Bangalore upto 1687. Thus the pressure of Mysore and the presence of Mummadi Kempe Gowda made Ekoji quit Bangalore. A favourable opportunity was offered itself in the south. Ekoji exploited the situation and filled the political vacuum caused by the death of Vijayaraghava Nayak at Tanjore by permanently establishing himself there.

On the whole the study of Doddadevaraja's relations with Shahji and Ekoji reveals that they never lived in amity. By 1673, the last year of Doddadevaraja's reign, the kingdom of Mysore, powerful and practically independent, having extended as far as Hassan and Sakkarepatna in the West, Salem in the east, Chikkanayakanahalli in the north and Erode and Dharapuram in the south,

1. Annals., I. p.109; La Mission Du Madure, III, 247-250; Nayaks of Tanjore, p.164; Nayaks of Madura, p. 170.

was in a position to withstand the influence of the Marathas. The traditional hostility between the Mysore Raja and the Marathas was relaxed considerably in 1659 when Shivappa Nayak of Ikkeri invaded the kingdom of Mysore. Shahji went and helped Doddadevaraja against Shivappa Nayak but having been bribed by the Ikkeri Nayak, Shahji left the camp leaving Doddadevaraja to his own fate. Doddadevaraja was deceived. Naturally his relations with Shahji were strained. In 1663 Nandinathaiya, the Mysore Dalvoy went and inflicted a crushing defeat on Shahji. The war was terminated by the conclusion of a treaty. Despite the treaty the under-current of hostility and discord continued between Shahji and Doddadevaraja.

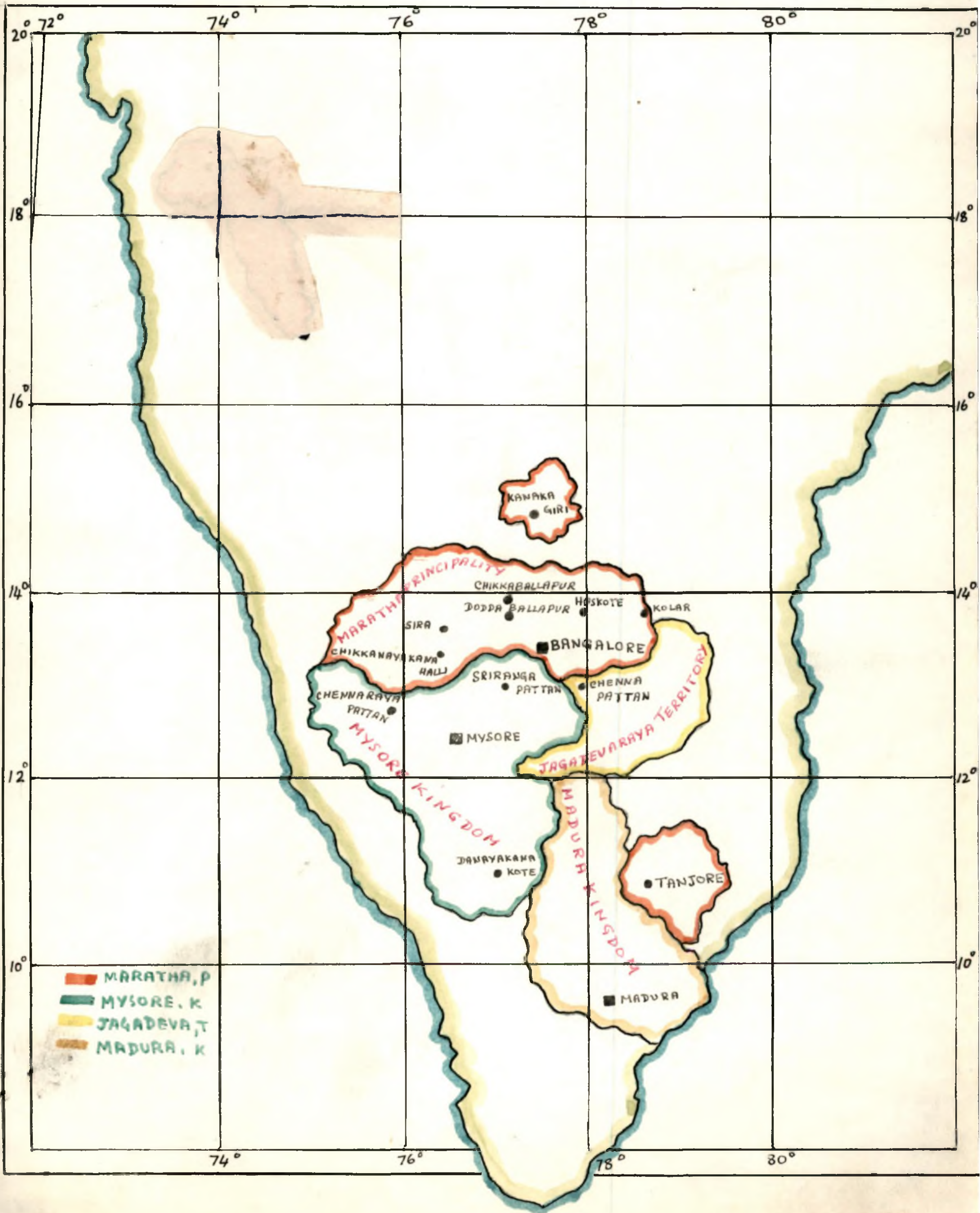
The relations of Doddadevaraja with Ekoji were no better. From his accession to the Karnatak heritage of Shahji to 1667, the policy of Ekoji was neither one of hostility, nor of cordiality but of disinterestedness in the affairs of Mysore. compelled by circumstances he had to change his policy. He helped Chokkanatha Nayak in 1667 against Mysore and in 1675 he fought against Chokkanatha for his own advantages. From taking part in the war of 1667, Ekoji only revived and renewed the traditional policy of hostility towards Mysore. The result of his policy culminated in the transferrence of the Maratha capital from Bangalore to Tanjore. It was not a good venture. The Bangalore principality which was built up by Shahji with so much of effort received a staggering blow at the hands of Ekoji. The change of the capital removed a great obstacle in the way of Mysore expansion in the north. The

semblance of authority which Ekoji retained on Bangalore after shifting of the capital was completely removed in 1687 when Ekoji decided to sell away Bangalore to the highest bidder. Thus the relations between Doddadevaraja and Ekoji went from bad to worse.

Several factors contributed to widen the gulf between the two powers. The ambition of the two powers to over-power each other, the role of the unimaginative Nayaks of Ikkeri, Tanjore, Madura and Gingee, the intervention of Bijapur in the affairs of the Karnatak and the growth of Mysore as a powerful kingdom never brought the Rajas of Mysore and the Marathas closer together.

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EKOJI'S TERRITORIES BEFORE 1687



CHAPTER III

CHIKKADEVARAJA WODEYAR'S RELATIONS WITH SHIVAJI.

Mysore relations with Shivaji begin from the Karnatak expedition of 1677. Mysore grew into a powerful kingdom in the whole of the Karnatak during the rule of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar. It encroached upon the Maratha zone of influence both in the south and the north. Shivaji launched forth his Karnatak expedition in 1677 and came into bitter collision with the ruler of Mysore. Both parties tried all possible means in their power, one to retain the conquests and the other to recover them. Consequently, the relations between the two were greatly strained. Shivaji undertook the campaign after having gained his position as an 'independent sovereign'. The performance of the formal coronation ceremony in June 1674 enabled him to claim "the full stature of political growth[1] Mysore which had fought against the Marathas, such as Shahji, Vedoji Pant, Anantoji, Kannoji and Ekoji who had descended in the streams o the Karnatak expeditions organised by the Bijapur Sultans, was to face an independent Maratha, Shivaji in 1677. Their conflict embittered their relations.

Till 1677 Shivaji did not interfere in the affairs of Mysore mainly because his centre of activities was Maharashtra. He was always at war either with Bijapur or with the Mughals. He was inspired by a desire to free his country from what he considered

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1. Shivaji Souvenir, p. 21.

to be a foreign tyranny. He was busy in building up a Maharashtra state. Besides, there was no necessity for Shivaji to interfere in the affairs of the Karnatak so long as the heritage of his father in the south was safe in the hands of such Maratha generals as Ekoji, Vedoji and Anantoji. Thus there arose no necessity for Shivaji to come into contact with the Rajas of Mysore before 1677.

Bangalore wielded a great influence on young Shivaji. Recent researches have brought to light that Shivaji had visited Bangalore with his mother, Jija Bai and his tutor, Dadaji Kondadev and spent two years (1640-1642) with his father. Shivaji was thirteen years of age if his birth date is fixed on 10 April 1627.[1] While he was in Bangalore, his father was at war with Kanthirava of Mysore. His two-year stay provided him with opportunities to study the relationship that existed between the Marathas and the Raja of Mysore. However, there is no reference in the contemporary Kannada source to the presence of Shivaji in any of the battles fought by Shahji against the Mysore ruler. By the persuasion of Jija Bai, Shahji had celebrated the marriage of Shivaji with a girl named Sai Bai from Nimbalkar family at Bangalore.[2] Shahji's court, his separate civil and military establishments, his wars with the Karnatak chieftains had impressed Shivaji. After spending two

1. There are discrepancies about the date of Shivaji's birth in various Bakhars. Malhar Rama Rao and Shivadigvijaya give the second of the first half of Vaishaka as the date and Thursday as the day in a week. But the date and the day do not agree. The Bairi's Bakhar gives Saka 1548 as the year. Wilks says th he was born on 17 May 1626. The Shedgaokar Bakhar gives Saka year 1549 while Jedhe Chronology states that he was born in Saka year 1551, falgun which would be February 1630. I have r-eferred here Raja Wade's date (Ithihasanchi Sadhane, pp.42-43).
2. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, V edition, p.22.

years, Shivaji returned to Poona. Paramananda writes, "in a few days Shahji Raja gave leave to Shivaji to depart from Bangalore at an auspicious moment, supplying him with infantry, cavalry and elephants, also prominent ministers, renowned instructors, costly flags and insignia of royalty and with plentiful treasure.[1] Shyamrao Nilakanth Peshwa, Balakrishna Pant Mazumdar, Balaji Hari Majalsi (Sabhasad), Raghunath Ballal Korde, Sonopant Dabir, Raghunath Ballal Atre Chitnis were sent with Shivaji. Thus from his early contact with Bangalore, Shivaji had gained not only useful knowledge from his father but understood the complicated relations of his father with Kanthirava of Mysore as well.

Scholars on Maratha history such as G.H.Khare, Grant Duff and J.N.Sarkar say that Shivaji undertook four Karnatak expeditions before 1677. On the basis of the Persian and Marathi sources, G.H.Khare argues that Shivaji launched two Karnatak expeditions, one in 1656 and another in 1658. According to him Shivaji went on his first Karnatak expedition taking advantage of the confusion that followed the death of Muhammadil Adil Shah of Bijapur but was defeated at Masur in the vicinity of Bednur by the Bijapur army.[2] In the second Karnatak expedition Shivaji had come as far as Terdal in Bijapur district, plundered the towns and villages and returned.

1. Shiva Bharat., X. 25-27.
2. The Karnataka Historical Review, Vol. V., Part II. July 1938, pp.20-21. G.H.Khare has arrived at that conclusion relying on the three documents which he secured from the Ghorpade family a Kolhapur, Venkatadri Srinivasa Bahadur Desai of Gadag and Baba Sahib of Guttal (Dharwar).
3. Indian Historical Records Commission, Proceedings, 1953, Part II, pp.70-71.

These expeditions are not mentioned in the contemporary Kannada sources because these two expeditions did not come up to Mysore nor did Shivaji indulge in such activities as would provoke Kanthirava of Mysore. Further it is difficult to accept the possibility of the first Karnatak expedition because Shivaji was busy fighting in the region of Junar, Ahmednagar and Kalyan during that period. Grant Duff and J.N.Sarkar say that Shivaji launched two Karnatak expeditions, one in 1664 and another in 1665, that they went against the Bednur kingdom and that the expeditions brought him the expected treasures.[1] These expeditions are also not mentioned in the Kannada sources. Mysore was not disturbed by any of these expeditions. Consequently, nothing particular happened in his relations with Mysore before 1677. Therefore, the only expedition that had a direct bearing was that of 1677. Kannada sources throw a flood of light on this expedition of 1677.[2]

What were the causes of Shivaji's Karnatak expedition? Several causes brought about the expedition. Chief among them were the political confusion in the Karnatak, Ekoji's change of Maratha capital, assertion of independence by Kolar and Doddaballapur and Chikkadevaraja's policy of expansion. First, confusion reigned supreme in the Karnatak. The personal rivalry

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1. Grant Duff: History of the Maharattas, Vol.I. p.91; Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, pp.233-235; Lewis Rice: Mysore Gazetteer Vol. II, p.434.
2. Kannada sources throw light on the geneology of the Marathas, early life of Shivaji, the early relations of Shivaji with Bijapur, Shahji's mediation with Bijapur, Afzal Khan's fight wi Shivaji, Shivaj's conquest of Panhala, Maratha-Mughal contest for power, Shaistha Khan's raid on Poona, sack of Surat by Shi -ji, Jai Sing's expedition on Maharashtra, Jai Sing's pretended friendship with Shivaji, Shivaji's visit to imperial court, hi escape, Shivaji's conquest of Sinhgad, Surat, Salhar, and Panhala, his coronation ceremony and the Karnatak expedition o 1677.

between Chokkanatha Nayak of Madura and Vijayaraghav Nayak of Tanjore had resulted in the establishment of Maratha control over Tanjore in 1675. Having made his position secure at Tanjore, Ekoji turned his attention to conquer Trichinopoly where the voice of Madura was predominent. Chokkanatha opposed the Maratha expansion. The war-like activities of the two threatened the Mysore possessions in the region of Madura. Andre Freire writes, "Mysore which can not see without uneasiness a bold set of people establishing themselves on her own frontiers, fortifies the citadels taken from the northern provinces of Madura, gathers fresh troops and makes grand preparations for war. On the pretext of strengthening herself against the Muhammadans, she may have in view an attack upon Madura, when the Nayak will be involved in his war with Tanjore Moreover, with the death of Sriranga Raya, the Vijayanagar empire had receeded to the background and this was an occasion for the Karnatak chieftains to seize what little territory that the empire had under its control. In Ikkeri Channammaji succeeded Somasekhara Nayak but her succession was opposed by a party headed by Thimmanna.[2] Bijapur was hard pressed by a civil war between the Afghan party and the Deccan party.[3] Consequently, its control over the Karnatak territories declined. Thus, there was a political vacuum in the Karnatak.

1. La Mission Du Madure, p. 249.
2. Grant Duff: History of the Mahrattas, Vol. I, p.188; Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol. I. pp. 220-221.
3. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, pp. 287-288.

Secondly, Ekoji shifted his capital from Bangalore to Tanjore in 1675.[1] It was not a sound policy. Although the foundation of the Tanjore principality was his contribution to the growth of the Maratha power in the south, Ekoji should not have gone to the extent of changing his capital at a time when Chikkadevaraja of Mysore was an open aggressor. He could have conveniently followed the policy of his father namely of appointing Maratha generals to distant provinces and holding his permanent court at Bangalore. Shahji, in fact, had controlled three principalities excluding Bangalore principality from Bangalore. Ekoji could have done that. But he did not follow a wise policy. The result was that there was no obstacle to the Mysore expansion in the north. Shivaji's conquest of his father's territories around Bangalore indicates his desire to rescue them from falling into the hands of Chikkadevaraja. Thus Ekoji's policy of transferring the capital was one of the factors that induced Shivaji to undertake the expedition in 1677.

Thirdly, the death of Shahji in 1664, and the departure of Ekoji from Bangalore to Tanjore made most of the Maratha possessions in Mysore relinquish their allegiance to Ekoji and assert their independence. Kolar declared its independence in 1670 and Doddaballapur in 1677.[2] Kolar and Doddaballapur which had been the principal centres of the Maratha

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1. Wilks, I, p.93; Ke. N. V., p.151; Annals, I. p.109; La Mission Du Madure, III. p.250.
2. R.N.Salatore in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol.13, 1939, pp.62-63.

activities during the time of Shahji, were lost to Ekoji. Lastly, Chikkadevaraja ascended the throne of Mysore in May 1673 and during his thirty-one-year rule (1673-1704) the key-note of his policy was the Mysore expansion.[1] It was an important period because it witnessed the clash of two important powers, namely the Marathas and the Mughals. He fought with the Marathas but befriended the Mughals. It was because he was playing at a higher game of making himself strong politicaly as well as militarily in the whole of the Karnatak. The transference of the Maratha capital from Bangalore to Tanjore by Ekoji provided an opportunity for Chikkadevaraja to project his schemes of conquest in the region of the Karnatak-Bijapur Balaghat. By the time Chikkadevaraja went on his expedition, the Bijapur Sultan had taken precautionary measures to rescue those territories. He had appointed Jahangir Khan and Hussain Khan to look after the Karnatak possessions.[2] The Sultan's timely appointment did not deter the progress of Chikkadevaraja. Of course, Chikkadevaraja had to face difficulties both in the south and the north. In the south the ambition of Ekoji and Chokkanatha Nayak for territories drove them to attack the northern territories of Madura which were under Mysore control. In the north Jahangir Khan and Hussain Khan were the obstacles in the way of Mysore expansion. Chikkadevaraja strengthened the defences of the forts in the norther region of Madura, and kept fresh troops to counter act the movements

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1. Mys. Dho. Pur., II. 31; Annals, I. p.104; Dr.Srikanta Sastri in Q.J.M.S., 1956, p.198. Wilks places the accession in 1672. He is followed by Rice (I.366) and S.K.Iyanger(Ancient India, p.298) Wilks is incorrect in assigning that date.

2. Annals, I. p.105.

of the Madura Nayak and Ekoji.[1] Then Chikkadevaraja launched his expedition and succeeded in conquering Ketasamudra, Kandikere, Handalagere, Gulur, Tumkur and Turuvekere - all in Tumkur District in 1675.[2] Jahangir Khan was expelled from Honnavalli in April 1676 and Hussain Khan from Bommasamudra in January 1677.[3] Neither Ekoji nor the Bijapur Sultan was able to take action against the Mysore Raja. Ekoji could not take any effective step against Mysore aggression because he was at war with Chokkanatha Nayak of Madura over the question of Trichinopoly.[4] The Bijapur Sultan could not interfere because Bijapur was in danger owing to a civil war between the Afghan party and the Deccan party for power.[5] In the absence of any opposition, Chikkadevaraja's task of plundering and occupying the Maratha territories in Tumkur District was rendered easy. When it was believed in 1677 that Shivaji intended to take Bednur and add Kanara to his conquests, he could not have remained ignorant of Chikkadevaraja's aggression in the Karnatak.

The objective with which Shivaji undertook the Karnatak expedition in 1677 deserves notice. Different sources give conflicting reasons. Relying upon these sources scholars have advanced different opinions. Chief among them were "the partition issue", "plunder", "a second line of defence", and "revival of

1. La Mission Du Madure, p. 249.
2. Annals, I. p.105; Mys. Dho. Pur., II. 72; C.Bin., p.59.
3. Ibid., Mys. Raj. Ch., 28.
4. La Mission Du Madure.
5. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, pp.287-288.

Vijavanagar empire". These views have been advanced to explain the ultimate objective of Shivaji in undertaking the Karnatak expedition. None of these expressions fully explainsthe cause of the invasion. The partition issue, is raised by the Chitnis Bakhar, one of the Marathi sources. According to this source, Shivaji demanded half-share of his father's jagir in the Karnatak which Ekoji was enjoying. Shivaji addressed Ekoji, "Thirteen years have passed since the death of the late Maharaja. Raghunath Pant then placed you at the head of the Government and completely rendered to you all the belongings of the late Maharaja. But they are my patrimony as well. You have till today enjoyed my half-share of them; I wanted to demand of you but I had been far away. As you would not relinquish it voluntarily, I waited for these twelve or thirteen years".[1] Ekoji argued, "During our father's lifetime Shivaji Maharaj rebelled against the Badshah and forcibly took possession of the imperial territories. Our father on that account suffered in various ways. I remained with my father and behaved obediently and so the Badshah preserved our property. This property is held on service tenure. I call myself a Badshahi officer and enjoy this property in accordance with the Badshah's order. What claim has he (Shivaji) to this property?"[2] It is true that Ekoji lived with his father and assisted him in his administrative work,[3] and that after the death of Shahji, he became the Bijapur Governor for the Karnatak possessions. The point of subordination is clear as not only Ekoji but also other Maratha

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1. Sen: Shiva Chhatrapati, pp. 227-28.
2. Ibid, p.231-
3. Epigraphia Carnatgica, X, Sd 47, p.185.

generals like Vedoji Pant, Anantoji, Raghava Pandit and others were working under the Sultan of Bijapur.[1] Moreover if Shivaji had a claim to the Karnatak possessions, Ekoji could claim not only a moiety of the Poona jagir but also a share of the conquests of Shivaji. In fact Sabhasad does not favour the idea of partition, but says that Shivaji claimed his father's twelve badges of honour which were in the hands of Ekoji.[2] So, the partition issue is not the factor which induced Shivaji to undertake the Karnatak expedition.

The view of plunder has been advanced by J.N.Sarkar. He observes, "It is incredible that a born-strategist like Shivaji could have really intended to annex permanently a territory on the Madras coast which was separated from his dominions by two powerful and potentially hostile states like Bijapur and Golkonda and more than 700 miles distant from his capital. His aim, I believe, was merely to squeeze the country of its accumulated wealth and return home with booty. The partition of his father's heritage was only a plea adopted to give a show of legality to this campaign of plunder".[3] Sarkar had raised three points that Shivaji did not intend to have any territory on the Madras coast permanently, that Golkonda and Bijapur were hostile to his schemes of conquest and that the new acquisitions would be 700 miles away from his capital. Since Golkonda was not hostile to Shivaji at that time and distance was not a factor for an enterprising general

1. K.N.V., XI Vs.1-100.
2. Sen: Shiva Chhatrapati, pp.125-6.
3. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times I and II edition.

him like Shivaji, nothing prevented him from having territories on the Madras coast. Sen observes that "there would be no difficulty in maintaining an empire situated some hundred miles away from the capital provided the communications were safe and good."[1] Further the various conquests Shivaji made in eastern and central Mysore and in the territories of Bijapur in the course of his return journey, were a complete testimony to the fact that he was aware of the necessity of maintaing active communication between Maharashtra and Eastern Karnatak. However, Sarkar is silent on this point in later editions. Yet he says in the 5th edition that "Gold and not the land was his chief object.[2] It is difficult to agree with J.N.Sarkar's view that Gold alone prompted Shivaji to undertake the expedition. Land was also there in his view. Of cours some of the territories he conquered were not new. They had been in Maratha occupation. What Shivaji desired was to take all those territories under his own direct control. Andre Freire's letter and Sabhasad clearly explain the territory that were occupied by Shivaji in the Tanjore region as also in Bangalore principality. Therefore from the study of what he did in the Karnatak, it is possible to conclude that both Gold and land were his chief objects.

A second line of defence is raised by Ranade. He says:- "As if he had prescience of coming events, Shivaji, by his conquests and alliances, formed a new line of defence in Southern India in the Kavery Valley to which he could retire in case of necessity".[3]

1. Sen: Studies in Indian History.
2. Sarkar: Shivaji, p.303.
3. Rise of the Maratha Power (1900) p.174.

Dr.Sen is half-inclined to endorse the view of Ranade: "He wisely annexed this far off colony as he had probably foreseen that it might one day serve as a secure place of refuge for his successors. A shrewd and wise statesman like Shivaji would not otherwise run the great risks involved in the invasion of the Karnatak, while a strong Mughal army was posted in the Deccan".[1] Of course Gingee gave shelter to the Marathas under Rajaram for a few years but the Marathas ultimately fell back on Maharashtra. Because Shivaji was at the height of his power, we can not infer that he was thinking of withdrawing to the south in case of emergency and hence we can not accept completely the view that he wanted to retain his conquests in the eastern Karnatak and Mysore solely for defence purposes. Moreover, he handed over the conquests in Bangalore principality to Dipa Bai, wife of Ekoji a few months later. According to Chikkadevaraja Binnapam, Shivaji was then at the height of his power. He "devastated the region of Delhi by means of plunder and guerillawarfare, defeated the ruler of Bijapur and took his lands and cities and humbled the ruler of Golkonda and owing to that pride he entered the Karnatak".[2] Revival of Vijayanagar is yet another view offered to explain the objjectives of Shivaji's Karnatak expedition. Shivaji was credited with having been born to revive Vijayanagar's imperial tradition in all its grandeur.[3] The two sources on which this view was based are, Shivaji's silver plate record to the widow and two sons of

1. Studies in Indian History, p. 145.
2. C.Bin. pp. 3-4.
3. Vijayanagara Sex Centenary Commemoration Volume, p. 137.

Sriranga Raya III, donating hundred villages and issuing of a unique gold coin, hun, in imitation of the pagoda of Vijayanagar. But these epigraphical and numismatical evidence merely show Shivaji's humanity towards the family of an emperor who had come to grief. The genuineness of the inscription is not above suspicion. We cannot expect Shivaji to imitate the Mughal rupee in preference to the Vijayanagar pagoda. Prof. Sathyanathaier Aiy held the view that Shivaji cherished "the ambition to stand before Aurangzeb as the acknowledged successor of the emperors of Vijayanagar. His southern invasion had in it an idea of reviving the Hindu empire of the south".[1] S.Krishnaswami Aiyangar held the view that the death of Sriranga Raya III "had something to do with the coronation of Shivaji".[2] Prof. Sathyanathaier Aiyar changed his opinion in his subsequent work and says "All these speculations were caused mostly by the then uncertainty of the date of Sriranga Raya's death, but we now know definitely that he died in 1672. If Shivaji had really wanted to step into the place of Sriranga Raya, he would have postponed his coronation which actually took place in 1674 or recrowned himself in 1678 after his coromandel expedition". He concludes by saying that there was a political vaccum in the eastern Karnatak which Shivaji abhorred and that he wanted to carve a principality out of the chaotic political units.[3] Besides, Shivaji reduced Vellore which belonged to Vijayanagar

1. Nayaks of Madura, pp.176-177, F.N.71; p.134, F.N.60.
2. Ibid., p.27.
3. Tamilaham in the 17th century pp.100-101. The evidence to the death of Sriranga Raya in 1672 is a letter of Fort George to th Company-English Records on Shivaji, I, p.232.

emperor. This clearly indicates that the revival of the Vijayanagar empire was not the chief motive.[1] The Mysore Rajas also assumed the role of restorers of the empire and most of the inscriptions indicate their interests in such a revival. But the fact seems to be that neither the Marathas nor the Mysore Rajas were really interested in reviving the old empire. They were only using it to serve their own interests and to conceal their intentions of expansion in the south. By 1674 the suzerainty of Vijayanagar in the Karnatak country had become rather an ideal than a reality, after the short lived success of Kodanda Rama I. Chikkadevaraja, in November, 1675, was actually in a position to claim to rule the kingdom of Mysore from the thron of the Karnatak Empire. (Karnatak-Samrajya-Simhasana-mudaradhih) as the Chamarajanagar copper plate of that date testifies.[2]

According to G.S.Sardesai Shivaji's main object was to prevent Ekoji of Tanjore from paying feudal obligations to Bijapur and to bring him under his control. Secondly, Shivaji did not confine his vision of freedom only to Maharashtra, (Pan-Maratha ideal) but pursued a pan-Hindu ideal (Hindu-pad-padshahi). Lastly, Sardesai considers Shivaji's daring Karnatak expedition as a link "in unifying chain of imperial aims". He gives nine arguments in support of his theory: (1) Shivaji's coronation titles like Kshtriya-Kulavatamsa, Simhasanadhisvara, Sri Siva Chhatrapati and Go-Brahmana Pratipalaka; the motto on his seal containing expressions like ever-growing, commanding obedience from the world and shining forth for the good of the world; his acceptance of

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1. English Records on Shivaji, II. pp.134-135 and 145-146.
2. E.C., IV (2) Ch.92.

Marathi as the court language; his revival of an old institution like the council of Ashtapradhan; Sanskritisation of the designations of the pradhans; his position as a Varnas'ramite, etc. (2) His method of territorial expansion by Chauth and Sardeshmukhi, (3) His friendly attitude towards Jaswant Singh and Jai Singh and his letter to the latter expounding his pan-Hindu ideal, coupled with his goodwill towards Madanna Pant, (4) His letter to Aurangzeb on religious toleration, (5) His letter to Maloji Ghorpade for united action, (6) His visit to Agra, (7) His Karnatak expedition, (8) His marriage with eight ladies, (9) Ratnakar Bhatt's eulogy of Jai Singh in sanskrit verse referring to his triumph over Shivaji and others who "coveted the imperial throne of Delhi".[1]

Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar, in his recent book, contradicts all the nine arugements of G.S.Sardesai. His arguments are that the assumption of high sounding titles are characteristics of a Hind ruler, that the motto on his seal refers to the infancy of his powe and the world mentioned is the limited world witnessing his activit that the introduction of Marathi as the court language illustrates his pan-Maratha ideal, that the council of ministers can not be tak to mean the revival of ancient institution like Dasaratha's council because the Bahamanis also had a council of eight, that Chouth and Sardeshmukhi are the instruments by which the Marathas aimed at political expansion in later years, Shivaji thought of a well-knit kingdom well suited to Ashtrapradhan council and not an empire as

1. The Main currents of Maratha History (1933) pp. 69-75.

was in the case of Baji Rao in later years, that the letter written by Shivaji to Jai Singh contains anti-Muslim activities and raises the slogan of the country and religion in danger and as Jai Singh was neither patriotic nor religious, it cannot be taken to prove the existence of a Maratha-Rajput entent, that Shivaji's letter to Aurangzeb does not prove his pan-Hindu ideal because Shivaji could not be expected to claim religious freedom for Marathas alone, that Shivaji's letter to Maloji Ghorpade proves clearly that he was for pan-Maratha ideal, that Shivaji visited the imperial court to know the strength of the Mughal empire, that Shivaji's Karnatak expedition does not prove his pan-Hindu ideal, that all the ladies he married belonged to Maharashtra and that the Sanskrit eulogy is a poetic imagery.

It is difficult to agree with all the views of Prof.Sathyanatha Aiyar. Although some of his points, such as the introduction of Marathi as the court language, the letter of Maloji Ghorpade and the marriage of Shivaji with the ladies only from Maharashtra by Shivaji prove his pan-Maratha ideal, yet the fact that Shivaji strove hard for the cause of the Hindus can not be overlooked. According to Rairi Bakhar, one of the Marathi sources, Shivaji's world was not merely Maharashtra but it was all India. Shivaji told the Sultan of Golkonda once that if Golkonda and Bijapur were to cooperate with him he could easily conquer the whole of India. Besides, Nanalal Dalpatram Kavi says, "Shivaji stands for the greatest Hindu since Prithviraj. He was the crown and essence of Hinduism, the great star of Hinduism". In the words of the same poet, Shivaji said, "I will conquer Delhi from its ancient throne. I will

resuscitate Hinduism".[1] The Kannada sources also mention that Shivaji stood for Hinduism and that the preservation of Hindu religion and institutions from the attacks of the Bijapuris and the Mughals were uppermost in his mind.[2] But the launching of the Karnatak expedition by Shivaji was not for the establishment of Hindu-pad-Padshahi as G.S.Sardesai thinks. If it were his ultimate objective, he would have retained his conquests in the Karnatak for long time. But it is said that Shivaji transferred all his conquests to Dipa Bai, wife of Ekoji. In his letter to Ekoji, Shivaji wrote that "the districts of Bangalore, Hoskote and Sira yielding a revenue of 2 lakhs of Huns have already been conquered by us; when well managed will be soon worth 5 lacs; we assign these districts as a voluntary present to our sister-in-law, Dipa Bai. Ekoji may supervise their management but not lay claim to them". In fact Sardesai himself says that Shivaji had transferred all the Karnatak possessions to Ekoji.[3] Moreover, if Shivaji really intended to establish the Hindu empire, there was no necessi for him to have any dealings with the Shahi kingdoms. But this Karnatak expedition was financed by the Qutb Shah of Golkonda. It is also difficult to accept that Shivaji undertook the campaign to prevent Ekoji from paying feudal obligations to Bijapur. As we know from the study of Ekoji's conquest of Tanjore, his relations with Bijapur were far from friendly. Contrary to his master's wi he had occupied Tanjore. "General Ekoji instead of placing the

1. Shivaji Souvenior, p. 120.
2. Ke.N.V.,
3. N.H.M., Vol. I. pp.242-243.

son of the late Nayak on the throne, according to the orders of Idal Khan, has preferred to usurp the title and authority of an independent king".[1] Ekoji became an independent master of the kingdom of Tanjore. Making his position secure, he revolted against the Bijapur Sultan.[2] Moreover, Bijapur was involved in a civil war. Bijapur had already declined and the fight between the Afghan party and the Deccan party for power had further sapped its strength. Therefore it is doubtful whether Ekoji was really rendering feudal obligation to Bijapur. Further when the two brothers met on the Coleroon Shivaji demanded half-share of his father's jagir in the Karnatak but did not speak of Ekoji's relations with Bijapur.[3] Therefore, neither Prof.Sathyanatha Aiyar nor Sardesai fully explains the objective of Shivaji's Karnatak expedition. The object of Shivaji's expedition was the conquest and consolidation of the Karnatak territories with a view to strengthening his own political position.

Sabhasad says that "the Raja entertained in his heart the desire of conquering the Karnatak from the Tungabhadra Valley to the Kavery".[4] That annexation was the main objective of Shivaji's Karnatak expedition is clear from Martin's memoirs, the Jesuit letters, Marathi source and the English factory Records. According to Martin Shivaji organised the government of Pondicherry and employed a large number of civilians.[5]

1. Andre Freire - La Mission Du Madure, III, 249.
2. Ibid.
3. Sen: Shiva Chhatrapati, pp.227-228.
4. Ibid., 85.
5. Sen: Foreign Biographies of Shivaji, 278, 297.

Moreover, Andre Freire, writing from Viranamur in the Gingee Taluk in 1678 says, "Shivaji made himself master of it (Vellore) and thereby became sovereign of a large part of the kingdom (of Vijayanagar) as he had already been (master) of Gingee. He could not hope to maintain peaceful possession of it for long; he had to defend himself against the Mughal power which had been irresistible till then. With this ~~provision~~ prevision he applied all the energy of his mind and all the resources of his dominions to the fortifications of the principal towns. He constructed new ramparts around Gingee, dug ditches, erected towers, created basins and executed all these works with a perfection. He constructed a large number of new (citadels) in the plains and on the hills and put all these fortresses for a siege of several years".[1]

Further Jedhe Sakavali refers to Shivaji's conquests. "Shivaji captured Jinji and occupied a whole of Karnatak".[2] Sabhasad gives a long list of forts under Shivaji's control and says that Shivaji built one hundred forts.[3]

As regards English Factory Records, letters of 9th May, 19th June, 24th August, 29th October, 31st October, 1677 and letter of 16th January 1678 contain references to the conquest of the Karnatak territories by Shivaji.[4]

1. La Mission Du. Madure, III, p.271.
2. Shivaji Souvenir, p.22.
3. Sen: Siva Chhatrapati, 127.
4. English Records on Shivaji, II, Nos. 222,232, 247, 251, 262, 263, 272.

Besides, the Kannada source, Chikkadevaraja Binnapam, also hints at the idea of Shivaji when it says that he devastated the region of Delhi, defeated the ruler of Bijapur, took his lands and cities, humbled the ruler of Golkonda and received tribute from him and owing to that pride, entered the Kannada country.[1] Now the weight of the evidence is in favour of the view that conquest was the ultimate objective with which Shivaji undertook his Karnatak expedition in 1677.

Who was the originator of the Karnatak expedition? According to the Marathi source, Raghunatha Narayan Hanumanthe was the originator of the Karnatak expedition. Owing to a sharp difference of opinion between Ekoji and Raghunatha Narayan on administrative policy, the latter resigned the services of his master, contacted Madanna Pandit, the Golkonda minister, went to Poona and induced Shivaji to undertake the Karnatak expedition to claim half of the Karnatak jagirs of his father.[2] It is said that Raghunatha Narayan placed before Shivaji his proposals of the Karnatak expediti early in 1676. But it is difficult to accept the view in the light of a French letter from Surat dated 20 December 1675 which says that Shivaji's minister Annaji Pant told Mr. Baron near Rajapur that an expedition to the Karnatak had been contemplated by his master. Baron stopped for some time at Rajapur where he had friendly interviews with his principal minister, understood therefore his ambition on the Karnatak and arrived at Surat on 26 August 1675 after a

1. C.Bin. pp. 3-4.
2. The 91-Qalmi Bakhar cited in Sen's Shiva Chhatrapati, p. 119.

voyage of three months".[1] This letter reveals that the Karnataka expedition was decided upon by Shivaji's Council early in 1675, that is, one year earlier than Raghunatha Narayan's visit to Shivaji. Therefore, the originator of the plan was Shivaji himself although he received much help from Raghunatha Narayan in the execution of his plan. According to Francois Martin, the founder of Pondicherry, Madanna, the Golkonda minister, was the author of this plan.[2] Martin says, "Madanna's views were to place his part of the Carnatic once again under the domination of the Hindus and by facilitating its conquest for Shivaji, to make of him a powerful protector".[3] But it is difficult to accept this view in the light of Baron's conclusive evidence that Shivaji had already though of it as early as in 1675.

At the beginning of January 1677, Shivaji started on his Karnatak expedition. The army that followed Shivaji is estimated differently by various sources. The Kannada source, Chikkadevaraja Binnapam, fixes it to be 60,000 horse and a lakh of foot[4] whereas Sabhasad limits it to be 25,000 horsemen.[5] H. Gray estimates it as 40,000 foot and 20,000 horse[6] while the Madras Council mentions it as 16,000 to 20,000 horse and several thousand of foot.[7] The Madras Council further says that Shivaji continued recruting of the

1. Francois Martin, 1908, 155.

2. Sen: Foreign Biographies of Shivaji, 291. Sen places high valu on Francois Martin as source". "It is needless to say that Martin furnishes us with the best contemporary account of Shivaji's Karnat expedition. His Memoirs constitute a document of first rate importance" - Introduction pp. XXVI-XXX.

3. Adrian Duarte: "An estimate of Madanna from the French Records" Journal of Indian History, Vol.XI, pp.298-313.

4. P.4., V.16.

5. P. 86.

6. English Records on Shivaji, II, p.150. 7. Ibid., p.125.

soldiers to his army during the course of his march to the Karnatak. According to Wilks the army consisted of 40,000 horse, an equal number of foot with a train of artillery.[1] Tirumalarya, author of Chikkadevaraja Binnapam had estimated Shivaji's army as 60,000 horse and a lakh of foot when it had actually arrived at Srirangapatna from Tanjore. The Madras Council mentions that Shivaji raised and had been raising the army until he reached Tanjore Therefore, at the time of starting on the expedition, Shivaji might have commanded an army of 40,000 foot and an equal number of horse as Wilks believed.

Shivaji reached Hyderabad early in February 1677. Qutb Shah of Golkonda received him warmly and made him sit by his side on the royal carpet on terms of equality. Frequent meetings were held between the two. A month was consumed in long discussions and conferences with the Sultan. The Sultan and his minister, Madanna Pandit, agreed to support Shivaji by paying a daily subsidy of 3000 pagodas or four and a half lakhs of Rupees a month and also by furnishing an army of 1000 horse and 4000 foot with a train of artillery on condition that half of the conquered territories in the Karnatak should be handed over to Golkonda in addition to half of the war spoils. They agreed to resist the Mughal aggression. The Sultan consented to keep a Maratha Ambassador at his court.[2] The Kannada source, Chikkadevaraja Binnapam, confirms this, "Shivaji with the help of 60,000 horse and a lakh of foot had humbled the ruler of Golkonda and received tribute (subsidy) paid by him".[3] A letter

1. Wilks, I, p.50.
2. Sarkar: Shivaji, p. 294.
3. C.Bin., p.4, V.16.

of Fort St.George dated 27 June 1677 says, "Mr. Child writes that sevagee is in a castle of the King of Golkonda where he intend to winter and after the rains its thought intends against the Carnatic: several of the Deccan umbras are joined with him".[1]

With a plentiful supply of cash and an efficient part of artillery, Shivaji descended into the Karnatak countries.[2] In July 1677 he was in possession of Gingee. In the same month he marched towards Tanjore and halted at Tiruvadi on the Coleroon to interview his brother, Ekoji. An interview was held between the two brothers and this was the first and the last interview. Unable to meet the demands of his brother, Ekoji stealthily escaped leaving behind him the twelve badges of honour bequeathed by Shahji.[3] Andre Freire says that after subduing the kingdom of Gingee "Shivaji pretended to respect the provinces possessed by his brother and advanced as if to pay a friendly visit to him. Ekoji full of confidence, came jovially to meet him and found him beyond the Coleroon. But natural sentiments were suppressed by greed and ambition; the traitor seized his brother and put him in chains to extort from him all the treasures. Ekoji, having managed to escape, crossed the river and hid himself in the woods; Shivaji took possession of all the provinces north of Coleroon".[4] Martin says, "The first conversation gave evidence of amity and tenderness only, then it came to negotiations when Ekoji discovered that his brother would

1. English Records on Shivaji, Vol. II., pp. 127-128.
2. C.Bin., p.4, V.16.
3. English Records on Shivaji, Vol. II, pp.132-135, 145; Sen: Foreign Biographies of Shivaji, pp.303-304; Sen: Shiva Chhatrapati, p.126.
4. The Nayaks of Madura, p.282.

not let him go unless he had satisfied him about his claims. He sought some means of withdrawing himself from such a bad strait."[1] A letter of Fort St.George says that Shivaji "waxed very angry and had him begone who presently went away".[2] Yet another letter says that "The Raja hath given order to take possession of all his brother's country".[3] Taking possession of the twelve badges of his father, and the territories of his brother, Shivaji returned to Vellore in August 1677. From there Shivaji extended his incursions into Mysore.

Why did Shivaji invade Mysore? Several causes brought about Shivaji's invasion of Mysore. Chief among them were Shivaji ambition for money, the fabulous wealth of Mysore, the role of the local chieftains and Shivaji's idea of conquering Bednur and Kanara. First, after the conquest of Gingee, Shivaji was faced with serious financial difficulties. The Sultan of Gokonda stopped paying him money because Shivaji did not keep to his promise namely, of sharing the spoils of the Karnataka wars with him.[4] Besides, Shivaji had spent a large amount of money and all the resources of his dominions over the fortification of the principal towns which he had conquered in the south.[5] Naturally, the loss should be compensated either by plunder or by conquests of new territories. Secondly, it was well known that Mysore was rich in resources, a land of gold and

1. Sen: Foreign Biographies of Shivaji, pp.303-304.
2. English Records on Shivaji, Vol.II, p.132.
3. Ibid., p.133.
4. La Mission Du Madure, III, p.271.
5. Ibid.

hidden treasures. Under Chikkadevaraja Mysore kingdom had reached the peak of glory and material prosperity. Chikkadeva-raja is spoken of by his friend, Tirumalarya as one who displayed very early traces of bright career being educated and trained in politics, gymnastics, archery and swordsmanship and in horse-riding, elephant-riding and other manly exercises. As crown prince, he had exhibited a remarkable military skill ~~rare courage and military spirit~~ on the occasion of the siege of Erode (1667).[1] Under his rule, Mysore was stable politically and sound financially. Letters of 24 August 1677 and 31 October 1677 of Fort St.George explain "the great riches" of Mysore.[2] Thirdly, the chieftains of the Karnatak who had been reduced by Chikkadevaraja invited Shivaji to Mysore in order to wreak vengeance upon their conqueror. The chieftains of Dhuligote, Malali, Muttanjathi, Paramathi, Salem, Sadamangalam, Ananthagiri, Ariyalur, Torevur and Dharmapuram met Shivaji unitedly and acquainted him with the internal situation of Mysore.[3] This was but an invitation to Shivaji to march on Mysore. Lastly, Shivaji had already planned the annexation of Bednur and incorporation of Kanara into his new conquests.[4] So, the invasion of Mysore was a link in the general conquest of the Karnatak territories. Thus the necessity of money, the fabulous wealth of Mysore, the appeal of the oppressed Karnatak chieftains and the design to annex Bednur an join Kanara into new conquests induced Shivaji toinvade Mysore.

M.H.Krishna of Mysore doubts the presence of Shivaji in

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1. C.Vam., 172; C.V. IV.
2. English Records on Shivaji, Vol. II, p.135, 145.
3. A.V.C. I, 130.
4. English Records on Shivaji, Vol. II, p.135.

the Mysore campaign. But the fact that Shivaji passed through Srirangapatna and fought a pitched battle with the Mysore army could be proved. Edward Scott Waring writes, "Sevajee seizing Gingee, extended his incursions into Mysore". Besides, several letters written from Bombay to Surat dated 27 June 1677, 2 August 1677 and 24 August 1677 clearly indicate the participation of Shivaji in the Mysore war. Apart from these letters, there are contemporary Kannada sources, Apratima Vira Charitam, Chikkadevaraja Binnapam and epigraphic record clearly mentioning the name of Shivaji in the fight that followed between the two armies of Mysore and Maharashtra.

About the middle of August 1677, Shivaji entered Srirangapatna. The letters of 24 August 1677 and of 31 October 1677 speak of Shivaji's incursion into Mysore and of the great riches that wer carried off by him from Srirangapatna.[1] No sooner did Shivaji enter Mysore than he saw with much gratification those chieftains who had suffered heavily at the hands of Chikkadevaraja. They supported Shivaji in his adventure. Chikkadevajaraja Binnapam is eloquent in detailing how Shivaji's task of robbing Srirangapatn was rendered easy by the alliance of these chieftains: - "Such of the rulers as had submitted to Chikkadevaraja by fear, had come to an union immediately patching up their differences, visited Shivaji and disclosed to him all the secrecy of the kingdom, who, profiting by this, advanced at their head against Chikkadevaraja".[2] The same Kannada source mentions in another place that Chikkadevaraja

1. C. Bin., p.2, V.10; A.V. Ch.I, V.30.
2. Ibid.

had to face danger from the "Turukas"(Muslims), the "Morasas" (Telagu people) the "Areyas" (Marathas), "Tigulas" (Tamil people), "the Kodagas" (People of Coorg) "Malevars" (Hill tribes) and the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda.[1] Shivaji entered Srirangapatna, plundered the city "where he got innumerable riches".[2]

Chikkadevaraja had a strong nerve to face the enemy. In the battle that ensued between the two armies, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar won a victory causing much havoc in the ranks of the enemies. Chikkadevaraja Binnapam says: "When Chikkadevaraja of great valour was devoting himself to the sacred duty of ruling his empire from Srirangapatna Shivaji who had devastated by means of plunder and guerilla warfare the entire dominions of Delhi with the help of 60,000 horses and a lakh of foot and thus earned for himself great notoriety in northern India; who had defeated the ruler of Vijayapur (Bijapur) and taken his lands and cities; who had humbled the ruler of Golkonda and received the tribute paid by him, suddenly entered owing to that pride, into the Kannada country, then the king of Mysore, Chikkadevaraja defeated him in a cavalry fight".[3] In another place the same source mentions as follows:- "The chiefs of Delhi and Bhaganagara kingdomswere frightened that Shivaji was

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1. C.Bin, p.2, V.11; E.C. III (1) Sr.14; A.V.C.I, 21.
2. English Records on Shivaji, II, p.145.
3. C.Binnapam, pp.3-4: Swasti sri man maharajadhirajam rajaparameswaram prouda pratapanapratima vira narapati sri chikadevamaharayam Srirangapattanadol sihmasana rudhanagi samrajvadhi kseyam taledu .... prajegalam palisuttirpinim; uttara desadoludvritha charitra nenisi aruvathusasiram varuvangalam lekkadenikevurkalgalum berasu nadedu Delhiyanadanenitumam kollevolam kallagalaga dolam jallugevdu, Vijavapuradarasam jevisi, avaranadu bidugalam kondu Golukondevavanam bandugeydu, avanitta kappamanoppugondu asorkinim galkane kannada nadam pokk Shivajiyam ajirangadolojegedesi.

either Maya, Sambara, the son of Ravana or Maricha and they all brought offerings of tribute, praising, 'Hail lord'. Having thus lost his head through pride, Shivaji attacked Mysore whose raja broke his pride and took the title 'Apratima Vira' (Unparalleled hero)".[1] A letter of Fort St.George dated January 1679 says: "The Meassure (Mysore) Nayak being very strong given Sevagee's men one or two great overthrows and destroyed many of them".[2] Epigraphic records fully corroborate the literary sources regarding the defeat of Shivaji by Chikkadevaraja. Srirangapatna Inscription No.64 says: "Chikkadevaraja had conquered the lord of Madura and withstood Shivaji in the height of his power at the time when the rulers of the countries around Agra, Delhi and Bhaganagar were falling down before him and presenting tribute. He thus acquired the title of 'Apratima Vira' (unparalleled hero) which is one of the distinctive epithets of the Mysore Rajas".[3] These sources, namely, literary, epigraphic and fort St.George letter are emphatic in saying that Shivaji suffered utter discomfiture at the hands of Chikkadevaraja in the battle of Srirangapatna. But Sardesai who is an authority on Maratha History, makes no reference to the defeat of Shivaji by Chikkadevaraja in his work, "New History of the Marathas". This is because Sardesai has not consulted the contemporary Kannada sources. The success which Chikkadevaraja achieved had not only enhanced his reputation before the eyes of

1. C.Bin., p.1, V.4; A.V.C., II, 28: Mayano Shambarab Dashasvasutano, Marichano Yembinam Bhayadindagare Dhilli Bhaganagara prantangalol nadugar Javajivendediritta Koppadodavim pumperi banda Shivajiva sorkam muridikki appratima Virabhikevam talidam.

2. Diary and Consultation Book, 1678-1679, p.153.
3. E.C., III (1) Sr. 64; Sr. 14 (1686).

his contemporaries but decided his position as the undisputed master of the kingdom of Mysore.[1]

Although Shivaji's invasion of Mysore is only a passing episode in the general history of the Marathas it is in fact an event of great significance when viewed from the position that Chikkadevaraja had occupied. Having vanquished such a mighty invader, Chikkadevaraja assumed the title of "Apratima Vira" (unparalleled hero). On the whole the consequences of Shivaji's incursions into Mysore were that the relations between the two countries, Mysore and Maharashtra were strained and that Chikkadevaraja stood as a powerful opponent to Shivaji in the southern Karnatak.[2]

From Srirangapatna Shivaji extended his arms to his ancestral possessions in Mysore namely, Bangalore, Kolar, Hoskote, Sira and Chikkaballapur which were controlled by Ekoji from Tanjore. Shivaji started with two Sardars, Anandarao and Manaji More, took the forts of Kolar and Balapur, built some new forts, destroyed the turbulent Poligars and appointed Karkun Rango Narayan as Sarasubhe-dar and handed over this territory also to the management of Raghu-nath Narayan. He stationed Manoji More with his army in Kolar region and having taken Ananda Rao with him he proceeded to Koppal.[3]

In the light of these conquests, it is difficult to agree with J.N.Sarkar when he says that Shivaji conquered no man's land

1. Wilks, I, p. 109.
2. E.C., IV (2) Ch. II. 23-24.
3. Shiva Chhatrapati, pp. 127-128.

in this region.[1] Any way that Shivaji had completely established his authority over the jagirs of his father in Mysore can evidently be proved by his grant of a village named Rama Samudra in that region.[2]

Making due arrangements for the convenient administration of the conquered territories Shivaji returned. "With a success as happy as Caesar's in Spain", Shivaji announced his acquisition of a vast amount of treasures that he took in the Karnatak".[3] The whole Karnatak was "peeled to the bones by his system of plunder" was the assertion of the English factors.[4]

Ekoji having learnt that Hambirrao and Raghunath Narayan were stationed at Kolar in the Karnatak, collected his forces and those of the palegars and attacked Hambirrao.[5] For attacking Hambirrao, Ekoji sought the military aid of the King of Mysore.[6] But Chikkadevaraja did not seem to have complied with his request for, Shivaji, according to a letter of Surat to the Company dated 31 October 1677, "Still continues in those parts (of Mysore) receiving a tribute from the petty Rajas which submit to him and chastising those that refuse to pay him contribution".[7] So, Chikkadevaraja could not send any help to Ekoji.

Any way a terrible battle was fought. Hambirrao defeated

1. See Appendix-3
2. Archaeological Report of Mysore, 1910, p.14.
3. English Records on Shivaji, II, p. 150.
4. Madras Records of October 1677.
5. Sabhasad, p.91. (Shiva Chhatrapati, p.128).
6. English Records, p.134.
7. Ibid., p.145.

Ekoji and captured 40,000 of his horses, elephants and jewels. Then Hambirrao and Raghunath Narayan went to Tanjore with their armies. Ekoji agreed to be on friendly relations with them. The two generals acquainted Shivaji of the fight. Shivaji sent them the following news: "Vyankaji Raje is my younger brother. He acted like a child. Still he is my brother. Protect him, do not ruin his kingdom". The generals made peace with Ekoji. Raghunath Narayan sent Hambirrao with the army to Shivaji and himself remained in the Karnatak with an army of 12,000 horsemen and infantry.[1]

The Maratha-held territories in Mysore namely Bangalore, Kolar, Doddaballapur, Hoskote, Sira and other minor places together with Tanjore were responsible for the differences of opinion betwee Shivaji and Ekoji as is evidenced by the letter of Shivaji to the latter.[2] "It is thirteen years since the late Saheb(Shahji) died Raghunath pant then placed you on the throne and gave the whole kingdom into your hands, the Maharaja's treasure, jewels, elephants, horses, territory and everything. So, for thirteen years you yourself enjoyed, the half of which was my share. You enjoyed the whole principality for thirteen years. You conceived the idea of continuing to enjoy the whole of it in future also".[3] It was for this reason that misunderstanding arose between Shivaji and Ekoji. On the whole it is clear that the two brothers were at

1. Sabhasad, pp.91-92. The Madras Factory Records and the Jesuit Missionary, Andre Freire (1678) say that Santaji commanded Shivaji's troops in this battle. It is likely that both Santaji and Hambirrao were present. Wilks also believes that Santaji led the army (Vol.I, p.53).
2. Patwardhan: Source Book on Maratha History, pp.129-130.
3. Ibid.

logger heads for the possession of the Maratha settlements in Mysore.

The letter contained terms of the treaty proposed to Ekoji by Shivaji. The latter placed before Ekoji to surrender important places like Arni, Bangalore, Kolar, Hoskot, Sira and other minor places as also half of the cash, jewels, elephants and horses as his share.[1] But it is said that Shivaji transferred all the Karnatak possessions to Ekoji himself.[2] When Ekoji was at war with Hambirrao, he desired the assistance of the Mysore Raja but was disappointed. An opportunity was offered itself to improve their relations but Chikkadevaraja missed it. Ekoji's disappointment was the reason for a fresh war more vigorous than before.

Chikkadevaraja Binnapam mentions a severe battle that was fought between the armies of Yasavanta Rao, Prime Minister of Ekoji and of Chikkadevaraja at a place called Hosur.[3]

It is well known that Ejoji in his war with Hambirrao and Santoji had sought the assistance of the Mysore king and that the latter had pleaded his inability to go to his help.

Secondly, consequent upon the departure of Bijapur and Golkonda from the political scene of South India, there remained only two powers namely Mysore and the Marathas fighting for their

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1. Patwardhan: Source Book of Maratha History, pp.129-130.
2. Sardesai: N.H.M., I. pp.242-243.
3. C.Bin., p.4.

mastery over South India. The declining condition of Madura Kingdom under the vacillating ruler, Chokkanatha was taken advantage of by Chikkadevaraja. In January 1678 the latter made a surprise attack on the forts of Andiyur and Kunnathur situated on the frontiers guarding the dominions of Madura and conquered them from the hands of Ghatta Madaliar.[1] Then he directed his marches towards Erode and put down its chief namely Akka Reddy.[2] Andre Freire says: "The King of Mysore entered them without striking a blow and took possession of the only two fortresses which Madura had preserved till then in the north".[3] It may be presumed that Chikkadevaraja's military adventure in the south might not have been passed unnoticed by Ekoji.

After strengthening his position in the south, Chikkadevaraja went to the north and conquered Chikkatotlagere and Koratagere (February-March 1678). Then he laid siege to Magadi and forced its ruler, Mummadi Kempe Gowda to pay tribute annually.[4] During May-June 1678 he subdued Timmappagauda and Ramappagauda of Muddagere. Between June and July 1678 Kadur, Virannadurg and Maddagiri and Hosur fell into his hands.[5] It was at Hosur in the neighbourhoc of Sira that the onward rush of Chikkadevaraja was checked by the Maratha forces commanded by Yesavantha Rao, Prime Minister of Ekoji. It is quite likely that the Mysore expansion in the region where

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1. Annals: I, p.106; Mys. Dho. Pur., II, 33; Kamal, Mahat, I 130-131; Hasti, Mah, I, p.77, A.V.C. III.8.
2. Kamal, Mahal, I, 132; Hasti, Mahal, I.c; Bhag, Gi, Ti, I, 53.
3. La Mission Du Madure III, p.272.
4. Annals, I, pp.110-111.
5. Ibid., I, p.106; Mys. Dho. Pur., II. 33-36; A.V.C. III 82; C.Bin., p. 59.

Maratha influence was predominant, might have caused great concern to Ekoji and the latter might have been led into the believing that unless Chikkadevaraja's progress was checked in time, his Karnatak possessions would be at stake. It was probably this conception that led Ekoji to despatch Yasavanta Rao to encounter Chikkadevaraja at Hosur. In the battle that was fought about July 1678 the Maratha army was completely defeated and driven out. Yasavanta Rao's nose was cut by the Mysoreans. Thus it was a distinct victory to the Mysoreans.[1]

Viewed from the angle of repercussions, it may be said Chikkadevaraja's victory over the Maratha at Hosur sounded a debacle of not only Bijapur interest but the Maratha interests in those regions as well. A sense of good neighbourliness between the two powers seemed to be an impossibility in the Karnatak region. Thirdly, Ekoji's idea of taking revenge upon the Mysore king for not supporting him in his war with Shivaji had dashed to the ground when the Maratha army suffered discomfiture at the hands of Chikkadevaraja. Lastly, perhaps it was this event that forced Ekoji to dispose off Bangalore to Chikkadevaraja later.

Further conquests of Channarayadurga and Manne-Kolala in August, Midagesi, Bijjavara, Gundamaledurga and Brutipura in September-October 1678 brought the sphere of influence of Mysore practically coterminous with Shivaji's ancestral possession of Sira

1. Sachchndrachara Nirnaya, I, 59-61; A.V.C. II, 13, III, 9, 65 101, 114 and 123, 166, 172, IV, 2; C.Bin., p.2; E.C., III (1) Sr.14, 11, 69-70.

in the Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat area.[1]

While Chikkadevaraja was conquering one fort after another in the north, laying claim to suzerainty as the "Sultan of Hindu Kings", "Emperor of the South and of the Karnatak country", Shivaji died (April 1680).[2]

The picture of Shivaji painted by the poets of Chikkadevaraja's court was grim and ghastly. He had been compared with the giants, Maya, Sambara, son of Ravana and Maricha famed in our epics, Ramayana and Mahabharata, as the destroyers of mankind and disturbers of peace.[3] Similarly Shivaji had been depicted by many, as a robber, free booter, a Mountain rat, a Mountain Monkey, as a false, perfidious and heartless man who threw to the winds the laws of man and God. It is only those who suffered heavily at the hands of Shivaji that branded him in such terms. It must be known that the Kannada sources, of this period were written by poets who believed that their patron was an incarnation of the deity. As courtiers they glorified the smallest exploit of their patron and even at best they omitted what was inglorious to him. Thus Shivaj who had caused incalculable havocs in the kingdom of Mysore had been compared to the giants by them. But Shivaji was not a complete incarnation of blood thirsty giant. The deep religious feeling, many instructive virtues, the chivalrous temper and the

1. Annals, I, p.106, Mys. Dho., Pur., II 33-36; Kamal Mahal I, 139, 143-146; A.V.C. III 82; C.Bin., p. 59.
2. E.C. III (1) Sr.151; Bangalore Dis.Suppl, Vol. Bn, 144, 11, 18-22, 33-34, 93; C.Vam., p.166; Kamal Mahal, I, 149, 152-154 C.Vi., IV, 51. Sach. Nir., I, 50, Shivaji Souvenir, p.25.
3. C.Bin., p.1.

vast ability of Shivaji should not be over looked. Paying a glowing tribute to Shivaji, Orme says "in personal activity he exceeded all generals of whom there is record. For no general ever traversed so much ground as he at the head of armies".[1] Kannada source also says that Shivaji traversed India from Sahyadri hills to Tanjore and back again from Coromandal to the Malabar coast.[2]

A few letters of East India Company furnish us with information regarding Shivaji's Karnatak campaign. A letter of October 31st 1677 refers to the easy success of Shivaji in the Karnatak and the terror with which most of the chieftains tendered their submission at the approach of this great general. "The moors leaving their fortresses and strong holds upon any rumour of his approach, and such is the great success that attends his army, that it is creditably believed he will shortly extend his dominions from Surat to Cape Comerine, without encountering any considerable opposition to confront him".[3]

Another letter of 16 January 1678 is more important as it compares Shivaji to the famous Roman conqueror, Caesar who carried sword and fire into Germany, France and Britain. Further it says that Shivaji swept away great cities like Gingee and Tanjore and "with a success as happy as Caesar in Spaine, he came, saw and overcame and reported as vast a treasure in Gold Diamonds, Emeralds".[4]

1. Historical Fragments, p.94.
2. C.Bin., pp.3-4.
3. English Records on Shivaji, II, pp.145-146.
4. Ibid., pp.149-150.

Another letter of 14 February 1678 compares him to Sertorious and Hannibal.[1]

Jean-Baptists Tavernier says: "As he (Shivaji) was both courteous and liberal he had as many followers .. as he cared for".[2]

Dr. Dellon writes that "Sevaji is a very potent prince who has managed his affairs with so much of prudence as to have established himself, in spite of his potent enemies".[3]

All these sources confirm that Shivaji was one who could be compared to the great conquerors of the world. Though the Kannada sources compare him to the destroyers of mankind, yet we find in non-Kannada sources Shivaji being compared to Alexander, Sertorious Hannibal, Caesar and Napoleon. The incessant struggle of Shivaji for over thirty years resulted in the establishment of a new kingdom in Maharashtra. At the time of his death it includ Maharashtra, Konkan and a large part of the Karnatak. The entire Western sea-coast from the centre of the line joining Surat and Daman to Karwar and Ankola was subject to his authority except a few territories held by the Sidis of Janjira and the Portuguese. In the east his kingdom comprised a large belt of territories. In the Karnatak he held Vellore, Arni, Gingee and several places in Mysore. According to Sabhasad, it yielded a revenue of one crore of huns a year. But Shivaji handed over the Karnatak territories

1. English Records on Shivaji, II, p. 153.
2. Travels in India - edited by Sir Win Crooke Vol.I, pp.145-148
3. A Voyage to the East Indies, pp.55-57.

The relations of Shivaji with Chikkadevaraja were far from friendly. Shivaji followed a policy of hostility towards Mysore. It was the Karnatak expedition of 1677 that brought Shivaj to Mysore. Both Shivaji and Chikkadevaraja met face to face on the battle field of Srirangapatna. This was the first and the last meeting between the two. Shivaji could not make headway in Mysore because Chikkadevaraja was powerful enough to withstand the enemy. Several factors widened the gulf between Shivaji and Chikka devaraja. Chief among them were Shivaji's ambition, the role of th local chieftains and the ability of the Mysore Raja.

First, Shivaji was an ambitious Maratha. It was his ambition for money thatspoiled his relations with Mysore. It is well known that his financial position was unsound because of two factors. First, the Sultan of Golkonda had refused to sanction money on the ground that Shivaji had violated the agreement made wi him at Golkonda. Secondly, Shivaji had invested a large amount o money on new fortifications in the south. These factors created financial difficulties and Shivaji wanted to make good the loss by plundering Mysore. Moreover, Shivaji cared very little to maintain good relationship with his own step-brother, Ekoji. Writing on the meeting of the two brothers on the Coleroon, Andre Freire says, "Ekoji came jovially to meet his brother. But natural sentiments were suppressed by greed and ambition, the traitor seized his brother and put him in chains to extort from him all the treasures".[1] Francois Martin speaks of the ambition of

1. La Mission Du Madure, III, p.269.

Shivaji for money and territory.[1] If such were the relations of the two brothers, Shivaji's relations with Mysore, the traditional enemy of the Marathas, could never be smooth.

Secondly, the local chieftains stood in the way of good relations between the two. The subjugated chieftains of the southern region of Mysore were either unimaginative or incompetent. They had helped Shivaji in plundering Mysore. They thought that their position would be improved by supporting Shivaji against Mysore. But their position had gone from bad to worse when Chikkadevaraja had defeated Shivaji in the battle of Srirangapatna.

Lastly, Chikkadevaraja was an able ruler. He was a good general and an able statesman. In the battle of Erode, he had exhibited a remarkable military skill. His military adventure in the north and south of Mysore had far reaching impacts on the Marathas. Ekoji had left for Tanjore, with the result the Maratha control over Bangalore was relaxed considerably. Shivaji was defeated and pursued. This suggests how powerful Mysore had becom under Chikkadevaraja. Thus Shivaji's ambition for money, the role of the local chieftains and the ability of the Mysore Raja never brought the Marathas and the Mysoreans closer together. Ekoji too was unfriendly towards Mysore. His only grievance was that Mysore did not come to his help at a time when he was at war with Hambirra The far reaching consequence of this deep rooted hostility was that Ekoji in later years disposed off Bangalore to the Mysore Raja.

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1. Sen: Foreign Biographies of Shivaji, pp.303-304.

CHAPTER IV

CHIKKADEVARAJA'S RELATIONS WITH SAMBHAJI (1680-1689)

Mysore came into closer contact with the Marathas during the rule of Sambhaji than ~~that~~ during the time of Shivaji. The appointment of Harji Mahadik to regulate the affairs of the Karnatak, Harji's wars with Mysore over the question of Trichinopoly, Sambhaji's devastating Karnatak expeditions in 1682 and in 1686 and Ekoji's disposal of Bangalore to the highest bidder were some of the factors which brought the Mysore Raja and the Marathas closer together. But their relations were no better. The traditional policy of hostility continued between the two powers.

Shivaji died in April 1680. No sooner did he breathe his last than his two sons, Sambhaji and Rajaram entered into bitter quarrels for the possession of the throne of Maharashtra. Soyara Bai, the eldest surviving wife of Shivaji, resolved to put her son, Rajaram, on the throne. But Sambhaji defeated her design by proclaiming himself the ruler of Maharashtra on 20 July 1680.[1] In these conflicts Mysore was completely ignored. None paid any attention to Chikkadevaraja. The Mysore Raja started his military adventure. He reduced Chikkatotlagere, Koratagere, Magadi, Maddagiri Kadur, Virannadurga, Channaravadurga, Bijjavara, Gundumaledurga and Bhutipura in the north of Mysore.[2] This threatened the security of the Maratha principality in the Karnatak. Further, Channammaji's political dealings with Sambhaji and the Golkonda Sultan had

1. Shivaji Souvenir, p.25; English Records on Shivaji, II.p.314.
2. Mys.Dho.Pur., II.34; Annals, I. pp.106-111; Kamalachala Mahatmya, I. p.148; Hastigiri Mahatmya, I. pp. 82-83; A.V.C., III. 82; C.Bin., p. 59; Gita Govinda pp. 39-70; Venkatachala Mahatmya, I. p. 50.

provoked Chikkadevaraja.[1] In 1680 an expedition was sent under Kumaraiya, the Mysore Dalvoy against Ikkeri. A bloody battle was fought at Vasudhare between the two armies of Ikkeri and Mysore in which Kumaraiya was defeated. The far-reaching effect of the failure of the Mysore expedition was that Channammaji took possession of Kadur, Banavara, Hassan and Belur and strengthened her defences against Mysore.[2]

The Mysore-Maratha relations during the time of Sambhaji begin from 1681 when Maratha generals like Harji Mahadik and Shamji Nayak with Jaitaji Katkar and Baji Kakade were appointed to regulate the affairs of the Karnatak.[3] Sambhaji could not deal with Mysore in person upto 1682, on the contrary, he delegated powers to his Maratha generals to check the Mysore expansion. This was because Sambhaji's position in Maharashtra was not secure. There was danger from Soyara Bai and her party. Sambhaji crushed her power by killing two hundred Maratha ladies who supported her. He beheaded the Maratha nobility, looted their houses and confiscated their property. Moreover, the Karnatak affairs needed his immediate attention. The death of Shivaji was an occasion for the Marathas of the South to assert their independence. Martin writes, "The news of his (Shivaji's) death created a great confusion among the chief officers in these parts (i.e. in the province of Gingee and the eastern Karnatak). Some of them seemed to stay in their Governments and render

1. K.D.Swaminathan: Nayaks of Ikkeri, p.119.
2. Ke.N.V., IX, pp.133-134; Keladi Samsthanada Rayara Vamsavali, pp.54-55.
3. Jedhe Sakavali in Shivaji Souvenir, p. 26.

themselves independent".[1] By the orders of Sambhaji, Janardana Pant and Raghunatha Narayan who had been left in charge of the Karnatak territories by Shivaji, were arrested and put into prison.[2] Sambhaji sent his brother-in-law, Harji Mahadik to take charge of Gingee and himself remained in Maharashtra.[3] These troubles within and without prevented Sambhaji from taking active part in the affairs of Mysore.

Bangalore principality wielded a great influence on young Sambhaji. Before his enthronement in Maharashtra in 1680, Sambhaji had remained in Mysore. Several inscriptions found in Mysore State throw a flood of light on the activities of Sambhaji in Mysore.[4] These inscriptions suggest that Sambhaji had spent the early part of his life in Mysore State as the Governor of Kolar and Chikkaballapur and that he was in know of the Mysore politics. Chikkadevaraja who had reduced a number of territories in Tumkur District was not able to extend his incursions into Bangalore, Kolar and Chikkaballapur because of the presence of Sambhaji. As Chikkadevaraja did not interfere in the affairs of Bangalore principality no event of any serious nature had happened between the Mysore Raja and Sambhaji before 1680.

Harji Mahadik was the sole master of the Maratha possessions in the Karnatak. He also followed the traditional policy of hostility towards Mysore. From Gingee, his capital, he extended his

1. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, p.219.
2. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, pp.219-220; Shivaji Souvenir, p.26.
3. Ambika Bai, daughter of Shivaji by his first wife, was married to Harji Mahadik.
4. See Appendix-4.

schemes of conquest and laid siege to the fort of Dharmapuri to the east of Mysore. The Mysore army resisted the siege. The siege continued for eight months. Harji, Dadaji, Jaitaji and other generals who persisted in their resolve to take the fort were at last repulsed with heavy slaughter. Undeterred by this, they went and took up their stand in Samvaminipattan (Southern Dharmapuri). Even from there they were pursued by the Mysore army.[1] The war between Harji and Mysore came to a close in December 1681. The relations between the Marathas and Mysore were greatly strained. The presence of Harji at Gingee and the frequent border disputes were the main obstacles in the way of better relations between Myso and the Marathas.

Sambhaji's relations with Mysore were further strained over the Trichinopoly issue. Trichinopoly became the bone of contention between Mysore and Madura. Till 1681 Trichinopoly was under the control of Madura but after 1681 it became the disputed territory between Mysore and Madura. Both parties began to use all their arts and policy, one to retain it and the other to annex it. Chokkanatha, the Nayak of Madura, unable to face the Mysore army which was superior in number, formed a confederacy consisting of Ekoji of Tanjore, Harji Mahadik of Gingee, and the Maravas again Mysore. The Marathas fought on the side of Chokkanatha. Consequently, the Mysore-Maratha relations were strained greatly.

In order to understand the Maratha relations with Mysore

1. A.V.C., III, 97; Sachchudrachara Nirnaya, I, p. 59.

under Sambhaji, it is necessary to trace the Trichinopoly question. Since 1678 Chokkanatha Nayak's power had been growing weak. His commander, Rustam Khan had usurped the power and begun to look down upon the Nayak family. Thereupon Chokkanatha decided to make himself free from the clutches of his commander. He appealed to the Maravas and Chikkadevaraja of Mysore. Chikkadevaraja despatched his army under the command of Kumaraiya apparently to put down Rustam Khan ahd relieve Chokkanatha from his anxiety, but in reality to procure a true political picture of Madura and try with all possible means the reduction of Trichinopoly[1] The Mysore palace record mentions that Chikkadevaraja commissioned Kumaraiya to Madura for the purpose of exacting the arrears of tribute due from Chokkanatha since 1667.[2] This implies that since 1667 the Nayak family of Madura had been tributory to Mysore. But Chokkanatha had not been a tributory of Mysore. So, the informatic given in the palace record is not reliable. On the contrary, Wilks and the Jesuit letter of 1682 state that the ultimate objecti in undertaking an expedition to Madura was the conquest of territories.[3] The Jesuit letter states, "Kumara Raya the Mysore general attacked Trichinopoly with a strong army".[4]

On receipt of the news, Rustam Khan advanced to Trichinopoly and fell upon the Mysore army but was repulsed with heavy slaughter He lost all his horses. Unable to encounter the Mysore army

1. Letters to Fort St.George (1682).
2. Annals, I, p.113.
3. Wilks, I pp.114-115. La Mission Du Madure, III. pp.302-303.
4. La Mission Du Madure, III. pp.302-303.

further, Rustam Khan returned to the capital where Chokkan hatched a plot which brought about the end of the commander.[1] Chokkanatha was freed from Rustam Khan's tyranny and was grateful to Mysore for her timely help. Chokkanatha wrote to the Governor of Madras, "We and the Naique of Misure are now good friends".[2] But this friendship was a shortlived one, because Mysore helped Chokkanatha not to save him but to take Trichinopoly. Kumaraiya had brought about the ruin of Rustam Khan and gained an upper hand. Realising the precarious position of Chokkanatha, Kumaraiya demanded the surrender of Trichinopoly to Mysore. Chokkanatha was greatly annoyed at this. He had to find out some means to defeat the design of Kumaraiya. He formed a confederacy consisting of Ekoji of Tanjore, Harji of Gingee and the Maravas. Among these confederates the Maravas were not sincere at heart. They joined the confederacy "on the pretext of defending their sovereign but the object was to get their share of pillage".[3] The Marathas joined the confederacy for several reasons. First, the southern advance of Mysore as far as Madura and Trichinopoly during 1678-80 had become a source of anxiety to the Marathas. Secondly, Harji, Dada; Jaitaji and other Maratha generals had intervened in the affairs of Mysore in 1681 and actually laid siege first to Dharmapuri and then to Samyaminipattan but they had been put to rout by the Mysore army. Since then the Marathas had been waiting for an opportunity to check the aggression of Mysore.[4] Thirdly, the Marathas were aware of the

1. La Mission Du Madure, III. pp.302-303.
2. Letter of Fort St.George, 8 March, 1682.
3. Ibid., pp.303-304.
4. A.V.C., III, 97; Sach. Nir. I, 59.

unjust demand of Trichinopoly by Mysore.[1] They were eager to retain Trichinopoly for Madura so that there would not be any trouble to their possessions from Mysore. Cessation of Trichinopoly to Mysore would mean the out-break of constant frictions between the Marathas and Mysoreans because Trichinopoly, Tanjore and Gingee were not far away from one another. Fourthly, Ekoji had a strong reason to join Chokkanatha against Mysore. His Prime Minister, Yashavanta Rao had been defeated and humiliated by Chikkadevaraja in the battle of Hosur.[2] Lastly, at no time in the 17th century, had the Marathas and the rulers of Mysore remained as friends. One's adversity was another's opportunity. Therefore, the Marathas proceeded on the pretence of helping Chokkanatha but their real motive was "to repulse the army of Mysore whose proximity they feared".[3] If the repulse of the Mysore army from Trichinopoly was the ultimate object of the Marathas, the intention of Mysore was to uproot the Marathas from Tanjore and Gingee and to revive the ancient Nayaks family there.[4] Thus Trichinopoly became a bone of contention between Mysore and the Marathas.

Disturbed by the alliance of the Marathas at Trichinopoly Kumaraiya realised that it was not wise to resist such armies with troops inferior in number. He conceived two plans. He tried one plan with Chokkanatha and another with Harji but both of his plans failed. The first plan he tried with Chokkanatha was that he

1. La Mission Du. Madure, III, pp.303-304.
2. A.V.C., III, p.32, V.9; C.Bin., p.4; Gita Gopalam, p.63; E.C.IV (1) Sr. (14).
3. La Mission Du Madure, III, pp.303-304.
4. Ibid.

"offered peace to the Nayak promising to preserve his kingdom for him" and to "reestablish the successors of the ancient Nayaks of Tanjore and Gingee".[1] In this plan Kumaraiya assured Chokkanatha two things. First, he promised to preserve the Madura kingdom for Chokkanatha himself and secondly, he promised to revive the ancient Nayaks' family at Tanjore and Gingee. By the first point, Kumaraiya wished to create confidence in Chokkanatha about the preservation of his kingdom and by the second point, he wished to isolate Chokkanatha from the Maratha combination on the pretext of reviving the ancient Nayaks family at Tanjore and Gingee. But Chokkanatha did not agree. He could easily infer that it was a deception designed to trap him.[2] The Jesuit letter of 1682 comments, "Undoubtedly the wisest course would have been to make a league with the king of Mysore to chase the Marathas".[3] This observation of Andre Freire is difficult to agree because Chokkanatha could not trust the ruler of Mysore for several reasons. First, Chikkadevaraja had annexed Andivar and Kunnatur situated on the frontiers guarding the dominions of Madura and humiliated Ghatta Mudaliar, the ally of Chokkanatha. Then he had directed his marches towards Erode and taken it by reducing Akka Reddi, its ruler.[4] Andre Freire himself writes, "The king of Mysore entered them, (those regions) without striking a blow and took possession of the only two fortresses which Madura had preserved till then

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Annals, I, p.106; Mys. Dho. Pur., II, 33; Kamalachala Mahatmya. 130-131; A.V.C. III. 8.

in the north".[1] Secondly, smarting under the tyranny of Rustam Khan, Chokkanatha had appealed to Mysore for help in order to free himself. Chikkadevaraja had sent his Dalvoy Kumaraiya to help him. Kumaraiya had gone to Trichinoply, resisted Rustam Khan, brought about his ruin and freed Chokkanatha. Taking advantage of the situation, Kumaraiya had demanded the surrender of Trichinopoly. This Chokkanatha could not do.[2] Lastly, it was to defeat the designs of Kumaraiya, the confederacy was formed consisting of the Marathas. How could Chokkanatha make a league with Mysore against the Marathas? In fact Chokkanatha had followed a wise policy from his own stand point in allying himself with the Marathas against Mysore. Otherwise, he had to surrender Trichinopoly to Mysore as was demanded by Kumaraiya.

Having failed in his first plan with Chokkanatha, Kumaraiya implemented his second plan with Harji. He persuaded Harji to withdraw from the field of action by holding out prospects of booty. Kumaraiya offered him "large sums of money to corrupt his fidelity and pledge him to retire to Gingi".[3] In resorting to this diplomacy, Kumaraiya wanted only to gain time to enable Chikkadevaraja of Mysore "to send him help which he had applied for" but his letters fell into the hands of his rivals. They had kept away these despatches and worked to bring about the ruin

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1. La Mission Du. Madure, III, p. 272.
2. Ibid., pp. 303-304.
3. Ibid.

of the general.[1] Even this plan also failed. Kumaraiya's diplomacy and tact were misfired. They (enemies of Mysore) allowed Harji and other Maratha generals to study the policy of Kumaraiya towards them. Kumaraiya's offer of friendship with Chokkanatha, his revival of ancient Nayaks rule at Tanjore and Gingee, his insistence on the Marathas to withdraw from Trichinopoly, his holding of prospects of booty to them and his secret correspondence with the ruler of Mysore for additional reinforcements convinced Harji that Kumaraiya had been slowly and steadily working to bring about the complete destruction of the Marathas in the south. So, Harji adopted a retaliatory measure much more severe than those adopted by the Mysoreans. He decided to attack Srirangapatna itself. The policy pursued by Kumaraiya at Trichinopoly had a tremendous effect on the attitude of the Marathas towards Mysore. Hitherto the Marathas had been intent upon securing the retreat of the Mysore army from Trichinopoly because they feared their proximity.[2] But now their policy was to secure the possession of Srirantapatna itself.

Realising the critical position of Kumaraiya, Harji despatched his Maratha generals like Dadaji Kakade, Jaitaji Katkar, Nimbalkar and others to effect the conquest of Srirangapatna.[3] Harji expected that since the bulk of the Mysore army was at Trichinopoly, the Maratha generals would secure the easy conquest of Srirangapatna. But his expectation went wrong.

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Jedhe Sakavali (Shivaji Souvenir, p.27) says that "Jaitaji Katkar, Dadaji Kakade had been in the Karnatak to help Trichinopoly" against the Mysoreans. Therefore it can be inferre that those Maratha generals were sent by Harji from Trichinopc but not from Maharashtra as Wilks (Mysore Vol.I, p.59) believe

The three generals made a sudden dash into the country and encamped at Kothathi and Kasalagere, in Mandya District.[1] Disturbed by the presence of the Marathas, Chikkadevaraja sent words to Kumaraiya desiring him to send back the army to face the Marathas.[2] Kumaraiya despatched Doddaiya at the head of an army to Mysore.[3] At the instance of Chikkadevaraja, Doddaiya selected three thousand oxen, fastened to their horns lighted torches and allowed them to move in the direction of the Maratha camps in the dead of night. The Marathas were terror-stricken at the approach of the oxen. Battles were fought and the Marathas were put to rout amidst great loss. Dadaji, Jaitaji and Nimbalkar were captured and their heads were cut off.[4] The defeat of the Marathas was echoed in the inscription of 1686: "Chikkadevaraja subdued in Panchavati, Dadaji, Jaitaji and others in the form of the Marathas. Having slain Dadaji, having cut off all the limbs and slit thenose of Jaitaji, Chikkadevaraja set forth for war".[5] Tirumalarya writes, "As Chikkadevaraja had exterminated Jaitaji, Dadaji and other Maratha generals, he came to be respected by all as God Narayana".[6]

The results of the war were that the relationship between

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1. C.Hayavadana Rao says (History of Mysore Vol.I.) that the other place of encampment of the Marathas was Honnalagere. But this seems to be incorrect because Mys. Dho. Pur., II, 22 and Mysore Archaeological Report of 1942(p.90) say that it was Kasalagere.
2. Annals, I, pp.114-115.
3. C.Hayavadana Rao thinks (Mysore, Vol.I, p.296) that Doddaiya was the nephew of Kumaraiya but according to Annals (I. Ch) and Wilks (I, p.60) he was the son of the Mysore Dalvoy
4. Ibid., A.V.C., I-IV Chapters; C.Bin., p.2.
5. E.C., III (1) Sr.14 (1686). Annals (I, pp.114-115) gives a graphic account of the war and as also a remarkable military skill displayed by Doddaiya in the war.
6. A.V.C., III, p.30.

the Marathas and Mysore went from bad to worse. Harji's hope of conquering Srirangapatna was dashed to the ground with the death of the three Maratha generals. Secondly, the Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb took notice of the Maratha disaster at Srirangapatna and praised Chikkadevaraja for his heroic deeds.[1] Thirdly, the defeat of the Marathas at Srirangapatna had a tremendous effect on the attitude of Harji towards Kumaraiya. It avoided all possibilities of peace between Harji and Kumaraiya. It led Harji to adopt retaliatory measures against Mysore, much more severe than ever before.

Having heard the tragic news of the Marathas, Harji Mahadik proceeded to deal with Kumaraiya violently. On the other side, "receiving neither reinforcements nor reply to his letters, Kumara Raya (Kumaraiya) was obliged to seek safety in honourable retreat". He decided to take flight towards Mysore with all his army unnoticed by the enemies. But, the Jesuit Letter says, "The Marathas would not allow themselves to be put on the wrong scent; for a long time past their self-conceit and audacity had been increasing by the inaction of Kumara Raya which revealed to them his weakness and their strength; they kept close to his army and none of his actions could escape them".[2] Taking advantage of the distressing position of Kumaraiya, the Marathas fell on the Mysore army and as a consequence, a terrible battle was fought in which some of the Mysoreans were killed, others including Kumaraiya were captured prisoners and the rest took

1. M.A.R. 1935, pp.135-136; M.A.R. 1942, p.90.
2. La Mission Du Madure, III, pp. 304-305.

flight from the field of action.[1] This account based on Jesuit letters is corroborated by Jedhe Sakavali. The Marathas "captured two hundred horses and also a commander, Kumar, of the army of Srirangapatna".[2] The fact that Jaitaji Katkar and Dadaji Kakade also took part in the campaign needs clarification. It is well known from the study of the Kannada sources that Jaitaji and Dadaji who went at the instance of Harji to Mysore for the conquest of Srirangapatna, were captured, cut into pieces and their heads were hung on the fort walls of Srirangapatna by Doddaiya. Though the document, as G.S.Sardesai put it, "contains many correct and minute dates", yet "there are some evident mistakes which one can detect".[3] It is true that Harji Mahadik conducted the operation at Trichinopoly against the Mysore army, and won a brilliant victory over the enemies capturing at the same time, Kumaraiya the commander of the Mysore army. But it is incorrect to say that Dadaji and Jaitaji too participated in the campaign. The Jedhes who resided at Kari near Bhor, some 30 miles south of Poona, had recorded the event which happened at Trichinopoly, The long distance might have prevented them from having a correct fact of the event.

The Jesuit letter of 1682 says: "The defeat and capture of this general (Kumaraiya), till then invincible completed the joy and pride of Arasumalai".[4] Having vanquished such an invincible

1. Ibid.
2. Jedhe Sakavali in Shivaji Souvenir, p.27.
3. Shivaji Souvenir, p.1.
4. La Mission Du Madure, III, p.305. What happened to Kumaraiya is not known to us as the Jesuit letter keeps silent. But the Kannada source (Annals, I. p.116) says that Kumaraiya retired from the service on the groundof old age. To his place ~~he~~ was ~~succeeded by~~ Doddaiya, the son of Kumaraiya. appointed

commander, Harji Mahadik expelled all the Mysoreans from Trichinopoly and the regions of Madura and proved himself a worthy Maratha general to rule over a distant region.[1] In a way Sambhaji might have felt very happy for his action in removing Raghunatha Narayan from Gingee and bringing to his place Harji Mahadik.

Kumaraiya and Harji Mahadik were remarkable generals. In tactics one excelled the other. If Kumaraiya believed that he was well-versed in military warfare, Harji showed the practical demonstration of his superiority in the field of action. The two generals were persons of high ability but with ~~contrasted~~ differences in their character. Harji had an inborn genius for handling large bodies of troops spread over a wide area changing his tactics so as to take prompt advantage of every change in the enemy's plans and conditions and organising combined movements. He knew well that delay was always dangerous. Taking advantage of the inactivity of the Mysore army, he attacked them from every direction and inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemy capturing the commander himself. Above all he had the support of a well-equipped army in addition to the plentiful supply of provisions where as the Mysore general was denied of these advantages. Kumaraiya sent a major portion of the army to Mysore at the instance of Chikkadevaraja and the remaining army was not sufficient to fight the combined Marathas. Further his letters of request for reinforcements fell into enemy's hands who hastened to ruin such a plan as to effect an honourable retreat from that dangerous place unperceived by the enemies, but

1. Ibid.

his plan was defeated when the enemies attacked him. The Jesuit letter of 1682 mentions him as "invincible" general. He fought for the glory of Mysore. His inadequate military equipment dragged him to be a captive in the hands of the Marathas. Harji Mahadik, on the other hand, was disloyal to his master. The hour of his victory was the hour of gratification of his vindictiveness.

The consequences of the Trichinopoly war were that Harji Mahadik grew powerful and ruled the eastern Karnatak with undivided power and practically as almost an independent sovereign. Sarkar rightly observes:- "The Maratha King's absorption in vice, the baneful predominance of the favourite Kavi-Kalas in his council the consequent disorder of the kingdom and the increasing Mughal pressure on Maharashtra under the personal direction of Aurangzeb, all tended to extinguish Shambaji's authority in the far-off province of Jingi and make a local viceroy his own master".[1] Further Harji Mahadik proved disloyal to his master. He declared that he was the king. He assumed the title of Maharaja'. He gave up the practice of submitting the annual account of the revenue to his sovereign at Raigarh.[2] Thus Harji Mahadik began to rule the Eastern Karnatak as an independent sovereign. Fortunately for him there was no fear of Mysore as all the Mysoreans were expelled from the region of Madura after the war of Trichinopoly.[3]

1. Aurangzeb, VI, p.53.
2. Ibid.
3. La Mission Du. Madure III, p. 305.

Chikkadevaraja's victory over the Marathas near Srirangapatna appeared to counter balance Kumaraiya's reverses at Trichinopoly. The Marathas arrested the progress of Mysore in the south whereas Chikkadevaraja delivered a rude shock to the Maratha dream of taking possession of Srirangapatna. In fact the Marathas were prevented from having a permanent foot hold in and near Mysore. The Kannada sources, the palace record, Apratima Vira Charitam and Sakala Vaidya Samhita exaggerate the achievement of Chikkadevaraja. The former source mentions that Chikkadevaraja's victory over the Marathas, apart from spreading his fame far and wide,"had also delighted no less a ruler than Aurangzeb, the Mughal Emperor, whose efforts to capture these leaders proved futile when they made an attack on his capital previous to their arrival in the Karnatak".[1] Apratima Vira Charitam says that"Chikkadevaraja brightened up the fame of the Karnatak by throwing out the Marathas from his kingdom".[2] The defeated Marathas said to themselves that"because they had roused the wrath of Chikkadevaraja, they had lost the chance of making permanent settlement in Mysore".[3] Lastly, Sakala Vaidya Samhita says that"Chikkadevaraja converted his kingdom into a stage for the dance performance of the Goddess of Victory".[4] It is clear that the sources have glorified the exploit of Chikkadevaraja. While estimating the position of Chikkadevaraja in the Karnatak on the evidence of the Kannada source, the greatness of Harji

1. Annals, p.115.
2. A.V.C., III, V.136. Manda Maratara Duryashadindam mige masavinda Karnatakada Kandam Kaledepratiman Chandalolureyal Puvadisidam mijayashadim.
3. Ibid., III, V.139; Chikkadevarayanam kenakidadarim tam idesha-doliradantavta.
4. p.4.

Mahadik as a remarkable general of the age, cannot be overlooked. Harji had defeated no less an "invincible general" than Kumaraiya and upheld the greatness of the Marathas in the south. On the whole he was one of the greatest generals of the time.

Sambhaji launched his Mysore expedition in 1682. Among the many campaigns that fill the stormy reign of Sambhaji, his campaign against Mysore may rightly be assigned the pride of place. It was the third trial of strength between Mysore and the Marathas. There were certain causes for his invasion of Mysore. First, from a letter of Fort St.George dated 10 December, 1681, it is possible to infer that the South had not acknowledged the suzerainty of Sambhaji though he laid claim for it.[1] Secondly, Sambhaji had an ideal of uniting all the Hindus against the Muhammadans. It was his ambition to unite south against the north. Thirdly, from the study of the political situation in the Karnatak, it can be gathered that the merciless slaughter of the three Maratha generals, Jaitaji, Dadaji and Nimbalkar by Chikkadevaraja at Srirangapatna, had not escaped the attention of Sambhaji. Lastly, Harji Mahadik drove out the Mysoreans from almost all the citadels which they had taken from Madura in the recent war but the Mysoreans withstood all the attacks of the Marathas, allied themselves with the Maravas and tried to retain their southern territories. The Jesuit letter of 1682 says:

1. Diary and Consultation Book, 1681, pp.71-72. The letter says: "All the Company's servants were sent to give their opinions about settling a factory to the Southward in Sevagee's country, who very well approved of the motion. It is likely this country may become subject to Sambojee, he having already claimed it as his due".
2. Sambhaji Kalina patra Sara Sangraha, p.59, letter No.181.

latter (Mysoreans) still possess some fortresses, among others that of Madura, with the help of the Maravas".[1] Naturally the disturbing activities of the Mysoreans in the region of Madura must have provoked Sambhaji to adopt rigorous measures to throw them out of that region.

While launching forth the Karnatak expedition, Sambhaji was perhaps well convinced of the military skill and diplomacy of Chikkadevaraja, as he had stayed in the south for long. Kannada sources, literary and epigraphic and the Jesuit letter are emphatic in saying that Sambhaji formed a triple alliance consisting of the Nayak of Ikkeri, Outb Shah of Golkonda to deal with the Mysore ruler. This makes us believe that Sambhaji realised the futility of fighting an enemy much stronger than himself, single-handed, tha too at a distant place. Anvway Apratima Vira Charitam says that Sambhaji entered into an alliance with Basappa Nayak of Ikkeri and Outb Shah of Golkonda against the ruler of Mysore.[2] This is confirmed by the Jesuit letter of 1682: "He (Sambhaji) is helped by Iquerian (Ikkerian) or the king of Canara and by the king of Golkonda, both of whom are united against the king of Mysore who is regarded as the common enemy".[3] Epigraphic record also speak of Sambhaji's alliance with the Nayak of Ikkeri and the Shah of Golkonda.[4] Being supported by the allies in men and materials, Sambhaji proceeded on his Karnatak campaign and ultimately encamped

1. La Mission Du Madure, III, pp. 305-306.
2. A.V.C., III, p. 21.
3. La Mission Du. Madure, pp. 306-307.
4. E.C. III (1) Sr.14, (1686) text, p.36.

at Banavara, north-west of Mysore.[1] The unexpected approach of the combined army took Chikkadevaraja by surprise. Nevertheless he rose to the occasion and ordered his entire army to move and fall upon the enemies. The result was a bloody battle between the two armies in which the allies were completely defeated and driven out. This took place in June 1682. The victory of Chikkadevaraja over the enemies was described in epigraphic as well as literary sources. The Srirangapatna inscriptio says that "Sambhu (Sambhaji) lost his valour, Qutb Shah failed in his purpose, Ikkeri-Basava was disgraced".[2] The inscription further details that "as the animal in the forest at the sight of the lion, as the birds at the sight of the hawk, as the hares at the sight of the tiger so did Sambhu, Shah and Basava sink down in terror and roll on the ground at the sight of Chikkadevaraja as if he were himself the terrible Narasimha".[3] Another inscription of Srirangapatna dated 1722 confirms what is stated above, "Shambhu valour came to a stop, Kutupu Shah lost all hope, even Ikkeri Basav was disgraced, when mighty Chikkadevaraja set forth for war".[4] Of course, this inscription is of a later date. The value of the inscription cannot be dismissed on the ground that it is not a contemporary inscription. Since the event and the style are sketc almost on the same model as in the case of the Srirangapatna inscription of 1686 its value as the source of information for Sambhaji's

1. A.V.C., III. V.21.
2. E.C. III (1) Sr. 14 (1686) text, p.36; Shambhu Sthambhitha Vikramah Kutupu Saho Sanhataso hathad Ikkeri Basavo Pidhikkrita
3. Ibid., text, 37.
4. Ibid., Sr.64 (1722) p.20, text, 56.

fight with Chikkadevaraja cannot be minimised. As to the literary source, Apratima Vira Charitam says: "Chikkadevaraja a mighty ruler that he was, had crushed the pride of Sambhaji, the son of Shivaji".[1] Chikkadevaraja Binnapam states: "Chikkadevaraja arrested the progress of Sambhaji, the son of Shivaji and broke his pride with marvelous valour".[2] Sachchudra Chara Nirnaya and Gita Gopala also speak of the event of 1682. The detailed reading of the texts reveals that they rely upon the inscription of 1686 in narrating the event.[3]

It was exactly at this time Ekoji arrived in Banavara with an army to help Sambhaji. But he was also defeated by Chikkadevaraja.[4] Thus all the attempts made by the Marathas to overwhelm the Mysore army proved futile. The far-reaching consequences of this battle of Banavara were that it marked Banavara as the boundary limit between the two kingdoms of Mysore and Bednur; it prevented the Marathas from making headway in the direction of Mysore; it increased the prestige of Chikkadevaraja as the foremost ruler of the Karnatak and lastly, it showed no hope of accommodation or cordiality in the relationship between Mysore and Maharashtra. The traditional policy of hostility between the two powers continued. No one attempted to narrow down his differences with the other, with the result, the relations between the two were greatly strained.

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1. A.V.C., III, 28.
2. C.Bin., p.1, V.5; Sorkinim dalliriva Sivaji suta Sambhaji yelgevanurbu korbumam tellenegeyda nadbhuta parakramadim Chikkadevaraja Bhuvaram.
3. Sachch, Nir, I, 61-62; Gita Gopala, p.19.
4. C.Bin., p.4, V.16: Avange (Sambhajige) neravagi banda Ekkoji Janmavam Sakumadi. For Ekoji's disgrace see E.C. III (1) Sr.14 (1686) and Sr.64 (1722).

Frustrated in their ambition to subdue the enemy, the allies shifted the theatre of war from Banavara to Trichinopoly. In doing so, Sambhaji counted upon the help of Harji Mahadik, Governor of Gingee. Further Tanjore and Gingee were the strong Maratha centres. Sambhaji might have believed that by going over there, he could get all the military equipment from these places to carry on the war. The combined army marched and encamped at Trichinopoly, a strong place of Madura. The political condition of Madura was much worse. Realising the distressing position of Chokkanatha Nayak of Madura, Sambhaji resorted to exactions and brigandages which desolated the country and hastened the death of Chokkanatha. The Jesuit letter of 1682 says: "The Nayak (Chokkanatha) attacked by Samboji in his fortress of Trichinopoly fell into a fit of melancholy which caused his death".[1] This occurred on 16 June 1682. Muthu Virappa Nayaka III (1682-1689) succeeded his father in July 1682.[2] He was too weak to control the deteriorating position of Madura. Added to this, Harji Mahadik was still chasing the Mysoreans from their important strong holds in Madura. Ekoji too, inaugurated his despotic rule and subscribed to the worsening political situation of Madura. He taxed the people heavily and treated them inhumanly. Thus the disturbing activities of Sambhaji, Harji Mahadik and Ekoji in south India was rather a knotty problem for Mysore. It roused Chikkadevaraja to a lively sense of their danger to the Mysore outposts in the region of Madura. Mysore had no ally. Chikkadevaraja could not

1. La Mission Du Madure, III, pp. 305-06.
2. Nayaks of Madura, pp. 190-191.

count upon the help of Madura ruler because the new ruler, Muthu Virappa Nayak was weak and a puppet in the hands of the Marathas. On the other hand Sambhaji was strengthened by the armies of not only his old allies, Basappa Nayak of Ikkeri and Qutb Shah of Golkonda but by his own people, Harji Mahadik and Ekoji as well. In this perilous hour, Chikkadevaraja appealed to Aurangazeb then at Aurangabad for military help. The Jesuit letter of 1682 says: it is said that "the Moghul, at the request of Mysore, is sending a formidable army against Sambogi".[1] The expected help from the Mughals did not come. Perhaps Aurangazeb could not pay much attention to the affairs of Mysore as he himself was involved in a serious struggle with Bijapur.[2] It is well known that Aurangzeb descended into the Deccan with a definit objective of uprooting the Marathas. When Chikkadevaraja appeale to him for help, Aurangzeb could have conveniently befriended him as a faithful ally and helped him so as to overcome the menace of the Marathas. A timely pact with the ruler of Mysore would have helped him to say that there was one sincere ally who could check the onrush of the Marathas in the Karnatak. But Aurangzeb misse the opportunity for he was occupied with the reduction of Bijapur.

Chikkadevaraja had to face the situation created by the Marathas in the region of Madura. The Jesuit letter of 1682 says that "in the northern provinces of Madura, he (Sambhaji) has

1. La Mission Du Madure, III, pp. 306-07.
2. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, IV, pp. 300-303.

several of its fortresses, all the province of Dharmapuri and other neighbouring territories".[1] Thus Sambhaji occupied several fortresses in the northern provinces of Madura that belonged to Mysore. The territorial loss was a terrible blow to Mysore. The presence of Sambhaji in the South affected the interests of Madura as well. Madura was divided into five portions among the warring and mutually jealous powers. The Jesuit letter of 1683 gives a heart-rending picture of the political condition of Madura. "The ancient kingdom of Madura is in shreds; the Nayak keeps a small portion of it, another is occupied by the king of Mysore a third by the petty king of Marava, a fourth by Samboji (Sambhaji), lastly, a fifth by Ekoji".[2] It was a fine opportunity for Sambhaji to dispute with the King of Mysore his claim for supremacy in south south India. He exploited the situation and recommenced his aggression against Mysore from the east and the south. The aggressive attitude of the Marathas naturally dealt a blow to the power of Mysore in Madura. This is clearly stated in the Jesuit letter of that year: "The power of the King of Mysore begins to grow weak, because, violently attacked in his own dominions by the troops of Sambogi, he cannot sustain and reinforce the armies he ha sent to those countries. The provinces he had conquered there shake off his yoke gradually to claim their independence or become attached to some one of the princes who have partitioned the shreds of the kingdom, once so flourishing, among themselves".[3] This letter brings out clearly that Mysore was not able to retain her

1. La Mission Du Madure, III, pp.306-307.
2. Ibid., p. 337.
3. Ibid.,pp.337-338.

conquered territories in the northern province of Madura. Mysore could not maintain her position of ascendancy over the conquered regions of Madura, especially with the advent of Sambhaji and his allies. The half-subjugated vassals gave up paying allegiance to Mysore and asserted their independence. Realising the futility of further resistance, Chikkadevaraja honourably entered into a negotiation with Sambhaji and thus brought the war to a close by paying him tribute.[1] Early in 1683 Sambhaji returned to Maharashtra with his army.

The conclusion of the war was a great relief to Chikkadevaraja. At no time had he experienced such stress and strain. The Maratha policy of exaction of tribute made Chikkadevaraja grow cold towards them. Chikkadevaraja's schemes of conquest in the south were checked for the time being. His influence in the northern region of Madura began to grow weak as a result of Sambhaji's war with Mysore. Sambhaji who had suffered defeat at Banavara, changed the theatre of war to Trichinopoly and overwhelmed the Mysore army. His success brightened up the Maratha prospects for the supremacy of the south. Naturally, the differences in view points between Mysore and the Marathas were widened and their relations went from bad to worse. The far-reaching consequence of the Maratha war was that Chikkadevaraja was driven to make friendship with the Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb.

1. C.Bin., p.4. V.16: Mattam Sambhogige Kappa Vittum Kutamam Kalipi.

2. C.Bin., p.4.

Chikkadevaraja Binnapam suggests that it was at the invitation of Chikkadevaraja that Aurangzeb descended to the south and conquered Bijapur and Golkonda. "The mighty Chikkadevaraja well versed in diplomacy secured the surrender of the two powerful kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda to the Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb whom he had invited". It is not quite likely that Aurangzeb arrived in in the Deccan because of Chikkadevaraja. The author has exaggerated Chikkadevaraja's relations with Aurangzeb. In fact Chikkadevaraja joined Aurangzeb for his own advantage. There were no powerful chieftains in the Karnatak to whom Chikkadevaraja could look as reliable allies in case of necessity against the Marathas. Basappa Nayak of Ikkeri was the ally of the Marathas.[1] Chokkanatha Nayak died in June 1682 and was succeeded by his son, Muthuvirappa Nayak.[2] He was weak and a puppet in the hands of the Marathas. Moreover, the interests of Mysore in the region of Madura were hampered. Harji Mahadik was still pursuing the people of Mysore from their important strongholds in Madura. Ekoji too was up in arms against Mysore. Under these circumstances, Chikkadevaraja was left with no other alternative but to win the support of Aurangzeb. Chikkadevaraja had entered into a treaty with Sambhaji on in his distress. He never seemed to have fulfilled the obligatio of his treaty with the Marathas as his subsequent attitude reveals

Aurangzeb set his eye on the conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda. Aurangzeb had his own reasons according to Kannada

1. A.V.C., III, p.21.
2. La Mission Du Madure, III, pp. 190-191.

source to reduce them. He felt that Bijapur and Golkonda were at the back of Sambhaji's insubordination to the Mughal emperor and that unless they were reduced, Sambhaji would not submit to Mughal authority.[1] What Aurangzeb thought was quite true. Sambhaji had invaded Mysore in close cooperation with the Sultan of Gokonda in 1682, and therefore they were on good terms.[2] Sikandar Shah, the Bijapur Sultan had offended Aurangzeb by writing a spirited letter in 1684. This letter made Aurangzeb think that Bijapur Sultan and Sambhaji were on good terms.[3] So, Aurangzeb regarded Bijapur and Golkonda as the two great obstacles in the way of destroying Sambhaji. Aurangzeb conducted the siege of Bijapur fort with all his vigour and on 13 September 1686, he saw the fall of Bijapur monarchy. This was followed by the reduction of Golkonda on 21 September 1687.[4] During the siege of the fortresses, Chikkadevaraja's army was present, The assistance rendered by Chikkadevaraja to Aurangzeb, though looks meagre, its importance cannot be minimised. Aurangzeb could count upon Chikkadevaraja as his ally in arresting the progress of the Maratha in the south. Chikkadevaraja gained a more advantageous position by helping Aurangzeb. He rose high in the estimation of his enemies, particularly the Marathas.

However, Chikkadevaraja's friendship with the Mughals, aggravated the situation. Sambhaji took offensive and invaded the kingdo

1. Ke. N. V., IX, p.155.
2. A.V.C., III, p.21.
3. Basatin Us Salatin, pp.447-448.
4. Ke. N. V., IX, p.156.

of Mysore in 1686. When Aurangzeb was involved in his war against the Sultan of Bijapur, Sambhaji projected his Karnatak expedition. Kavi Kalasa, the prince of poets, and the chief adviser in the Maratha court wielded a great influence on Sambhaji The Kannada source says that Kavi Kalasa was the spy of Aurangzeb but the truth of the statement can not be established unless it is corroborated by further evidences.[1] Edward Scott Waring, the Jesuit letter of 1686 and Chikkadevaraja Binnapam are the main sources for Sambhaji's wars with Chikkadevaraja. E.S.Waring writes, "Sambhaji in 1686 was engaged against the forts and districts belonging to Bijapur Government in the Carnatic".[2] This means that Sambhaji was occupied with the conquests of territories in the Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat in 1686.

The Jesuit letter of 1686 speaks of the atrocious war of Sambhaji in the heart of the Mysore kingdom.[3] Sambhaji rightly visualised the situation and undertook the expedition. First, since Chikkadevaraja sent the bulk of his army to Bijapur in support of the Mughals, most of his forts and districts were defenceless.[4] Secondly, Chikkadevaraja's power in Madura was growing weak. Several chieftains in the northern region of Madura began to shake off their yoke of Mysore.[5] Thirdly, Chikkadevaraja had violated the terms of the treaty of 1683 by not paying the tribute due to Sambhaji.

1. Appendix.
2. History of the Marathas, p.117.
3. La Mission Du Madure, III, p. 337. 4. C.Bin., p. 4.
5. La Mission Du Madure, III, p. 337.

Taking advantage of the situation Sambhaji invaded Mysore. His task of conducting war was further facilitated "by the revolts of the inhabitants against their own sovereign".[1] The chieftains of Morasa, Tigula, Kodaga and Malavala helped Sambhaji against Chikkadevaraja.[2] They were lured by Sambhaji's promise of booty and honour.[3] With these allies at the head, Sambhaji attacked Srirangapatna, the very heart of the Mysore kingdom and began to conduct war against Chikkadevaraja mercilessly.[4] Chikkadevaraja faced two problems. One was the problem of the army and the other was the problem of money to meet the expenses of the war. He recalled his army from the citadel of Madura but Sambhaji sent his troops and held up the Mysore army.[5] The atrocious war which Sambhaji conducted in the province of Mysore prevented Chikkadevaraja from sending reinforcement to his army which was shut up in Madura. However, he despatched 10,000 pagodas to its relief.[6] At the request of Chikkadevaraja the Maravas helped the Mysore army to return to Mysore. About the problem of money, Chikkadevaraja resorted to "exactions and cruelties in the eastern provinces of his dominions".[7] The Jesuit account says, "Sambogi is strongly helped by the revolt of the inhabitants".[8] Chikkadevaraja put down the rebellion with a strong hand.[9] While laying siege to the fort of Srirangapatna,

1. La Mission Du Madure, III, p. 377.
2. C.Bin., p.4.
3. Ibid.
4. La Mission Du Madure, III, p. 377.
5. Ibid., p. 308.
6. Ibid., pp.360-1.
7. Ibid., p.377.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., pp.380-1.

the troops of Sambhaji ravaged the kingdom of Mysore. Chikkadevaraja defended the fort ably. Chikkadevaraja Binnapam says, "in the fight that followed the chieftains of Morasa, Tigula, Kodaga and Malayala countries who advanced against Chikkadevaraja depending upon the promise of the Marathas were defeated and pursued".[1] The allies were so badly routed that the same Kannada source mentions "Sambhaji was drowned in the sea of fear" at the approach of Chikkadevaraja. Having suffered defeat, Sambhaji retreated to his homeland towards the end of 1686. Neither Harji nor Ekoji was able to help Sambhaji in his adversity. They were held by the troops of Maravas and "Kallans".[2] Sambhaji hurried back to Poona because he feared that Aurangzeb might invade Panhala.

The consequences of the Maratha war with Mysore were that the differences between the two parties continued to be wide, that Mysore continued to lay claim to its supremacy in the south and that the political relations between the two were strained further. The most disastrous consequence of the war was that it paved the way for Ekoji of Tanjore to dispose off Bangalore to Chikkadevaraja

Thus the two wars that Sambhaji fought with Chikkadevaraja first in 1682 and then in 1686 were suicidal to the interests of both Mysore and the Marathas. In his first war of 1682, Sambhaji was defeated at Banavara by the Mysore army but he overhelmed them

1. C.Bin., p. 4.
2. La Mission Du Madure, III, p. 377.

at Trichinopoly. Sambhaji had conducted the atrocious war at Trichinopoly. With the support of Harji Mahadik he had expelled all the Mysoreans from the northern region of Madura. The hostility of 1682 was terminated with the conclusion of a treaty. Chikkadevaraja had agreed to the treaty only in his distress but he never fulfilled it. This war reduced the power of Mysore in Madura. The second war of 1686 went against the Maratha interests in Mysore. Sambhaji was defeated and pursued. Consequently, his relations with Mysore were greatly strained. Neither the Mysoreans nor the Marathas tolerated the existence of the other. Each worked to bring about the ruin of the other.

Sambhaji's defeat at Banavara was the most disastrous event experienced by the Marathas. His defeat was compensated by the subsequent success in Madura. In offering to end the war and in proposing to pay the tribute, Chikkadevaraja exhibited rare qualities of statesmanship. These efforts indicate his consciousness that Sambhaji was no ordinary invader. The second Maratha war had crushed the pride of the Chieftains of Morasa, Tigula, Kodaga, Malavala regions and affected the Maratha interests in the Karnatak. Their defeat at Srirangapatna increased the prestige of Chikkadevaraja. He declared himself the emperor of the Karnata On the whole the relations between Chikkadevaraja and Sambhaji were strained and this continued hostility between the two in the Karnatak made the Mughal intervention in the south inevitable. Besides, the success that attended the Mysore army in the second Maratha war made Ekoji dispose off Bangalore.

Why did Ekoji dispose off Bangalore?

Two factors were mainly responsible. They were the internal troubles and the external danger. Ekoji was not popular among his subjects because of his tyrannical rule. He plundered his own men and appropriated all the income of the temples including their richest possessions. The Jesuit letter of 1682 says that "after plundering his own men he (Ekoji) has fallen on the pagodas of his own idols and appropriated the treasures of the pagodas and their large possessions".[1] Added to this unwise policy "an inundation has wrought horrible ravages on the sea-coast, becau[se] it has been accompanied by a terrible gust of wind". More than 6000 persons were perished.[2] Agriculturists were treated inhumanly Taxes were heavy. They were to be paid both in cash and kind. Thus the economic condition of the people went from bad to worse under the rule of Ekoji.[3]

The external danger was that his kingdom was subjected to the frequent incursions of the Kallans (thieves), Maravas, the king of Mysore and the Nayak of Madura.[4] Of all the powers, Mysore troubled him most. Chikkadevaraja, freed from the fear of the Marathas, projected his campaign of conquests. During April-May 1687 Chikkadevaraja seized the principal Maratha possessions, namely Chikkanayakanahalli, Kandikere and Tyamagondlu

1. La Mission Du Madure, III, p. 306.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.337-8.
4. Ibid., pp.377-8.

and incorporated them into his kingdom.[1] The fall of these places roused Ekoji to a full sense of danger to his richest possessions from an extenstion of the Mysore kingdom in that direction. These acquisitions meant no doubt, the weakening of Ekoji's power in the Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat. The increasing power and influence of Chikkadevaraja made Ekoji realise that it was very difficult for him to control his distant Bangalore principality. So, he decided to dispose it off to the highest bidder.[2] Thirdly, Wilks believes that Ekoji decided to sell away Bangalore because he thought that controlling of a distant place was a costly affair.[3] Fourthly, according to Palace Record, Chikkadevaraja's successful expeditions to Madura and Trichinopoly persuaded Ekoji to think that he was no match to Chikkadevaraja. Therefore he decided to sell Bangalore.[4] It was not so much the desire to be on good terms with the king of Mysore as the hostile surroundings in the midst of which Ekoji lived that made the latter decide to sell away Bangalore.

In the meanwhile, the fall of Bijapur into Mughal hands in September 1686 and the imminent siege of Golkonda awakened Sambhaji to the danger to his possessions in the Karnatak by an extension of Mughal authority in that direction. As a defensive measure, Sambhaji sent Kesava Pingle and Santaji Ghorpade with

1. Mys. Dho. Pur., I Ch; Annals, I, pp. 106-107.
2. Wilks, I, p.226; Annals, I, p.110.
3. Ibid., I, p.109.
4. Annals, I, p.110.

12,000 horse southwards in October 1686 to strengthen his garrisons in the Karnatak.[1]

This measure of Sambhaji seems to have alarmed the Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb, who detached a large body from the siege of Golkonda to invest Bangalore which was still in the Maratha hands. Aurangzeb was confident of the success because Basavapatna, a principal centre of Maratha activities was already ceded by Qutb Shah of Golkonda to Aurangzeb at the beginning of 1687.[2] It appears that Aurangzeb was determined to conquer the Maratha possessions in the Karnatak one after another. The Mughal detachment sent under Khasim Khan proceeded southwards pursuing the Maratha army that had already gone under Kesava Pant and Santaji. On I March 1687 the Mughal army marched by way of Penukonda towards Tumkur.[3] Leaving Tumkur undisturbed to Chikkadevaraja, the Mughals proceeded further.[4]

In the meanwhile Ekoji opened negotiations with Chikkadevaraja through a vakil on the question of selling Bangalore and agreed to transfer the city for a sum of three lakhs of Rupees. While the transactions were in progress, the Mughal general Khasim Khan arrived at Bangalore and after taking possession of the city, he hoisted the imperial flag on the ramparts of Bangalore fort on 10th July 1687.[5] Almost simultaneously the Marathas with a

1. Orme: Historical Fragments, p.155.
2. Jedhe Savavali: Shivaji Souvenir, p. 30.
3. Annals, I, 106-107; Wilks, I, 109; Mys.Dho.Pur., II, 36-37; Sarkar: Aurangzeb V, 54-56.
4. Annals, I, 106.
5. Mys. Dho. Pur., II, 38; Annals, I, 110; Orme (Historical Fragments, 155-156) places the surrender of Bangalore to Khasim Kha early in August 1687. Wilks (I,110) about July 1687; Sarkar (Aurangzeb, V. 54-55) places it on 10th June or July 10,1687. The formeris preferred here as the correct date.

detachment under Harji Mahadik (Governor of Gingee), Kesav Pant and Santaji (generals of Sambhaji) came and encamped at Bangalore.[1] At the same time Chikkadevaraja also went and stood before the walls of Bangalore.[2]

As to the point who won the victory, sources display conflicting versions. First, the palace record states that Chikkadevaraja fought a severe battle with Khasim Khan and that after defeating the enemy completely he took the fort of Bangalore on 14th July 1687.[3] Secondly, the Maratha chronicle-Jedhe Saka-vali fully corroborates the statement: "Ashada Shukla 10 (10th July 1687), chief of Mysore brought aid to Bangalore and seized Khasim Khan with forces".[4] Thirdly, Sambhaji patra sara Sangraha says that Chikkadevaraja with the help of Harji defeated Khassim Khan on 10th July 1687.[5] Fourthly, Wilks gives entirely a different version: "The Raja was far too shrewd to attempt any such rash act. He saw that the courting of Khasim Khan's friendship would by far be the better thing to do under the circumstances as it would enable him to put himself in favour with the Emperor Aurangzeb who had already set an eye on the territorie of the Raja".[6] The Raja foresaw the folly of turning hostile to the Emperor. He had reduced a number of petty chieftains in the Karnatak but there was no protest from the Mughals. He had

1. Orme: I, C; Wilks, I.C.
2. Annals, I, 110.
3. Ibid., A Khasim Khanam hode dodisi nijashada suddha 15 ralli tamma thanavamam hakikondu.
4. Shivaji Souvenir, p. 30.
5. Sambhaji Patra Sara Sangraha, p. 118.
6. Wilks, I, pp.110-111.

annexed a number of petty principalities but the Mughals did not object to it. Therefore there was no reason for him to be on inimical terms with the Mughals. The Emperor's friendship would be a source of strength to him as it would enable him to overawe the many turbulent chieftains whom he had subjugated. On the other hand the Emperor too was not prepared to quarrel with Chikkadevaraja because his friendship would facilitate the marching of the Mughal army through his territories. So, Wilks continues that Chikkadevaraja made common cause with Khasim Khan and opened negotiations to buy Bangalore from him.[1] Fifthly, Sarkar on the basis of the Persian sources states that Khasim Khan captured Bangalore with the assistance of Chikkadevaraja, the enemy of Shivaji's house.[2] Sixthly, Kincaid and Parasnis say that Aurangzeb despatched an army to attack Bangalore, still in the hands of the Marathas. "The straits to which Bangalore was soon reduced led Harji Mahadik and Keshav Pingle to forget their jealousies and march to its relief. But in August 1687 it fell before the relieving army reached it".[3] Seventhly, Colonel Read says that Khasim Khan carried fire and sword into the south, dispossessed Bangalore from the Maratha control and took several Hindu chiefships converting them into Subhas.[4] Now the first three sources agree in stating that Chikkadevaraja won a brilliant victory over Khasim

1. Wilks, I, 110-111. Grant Duff follows Wilks closely in narrating this event (Vol.I, p.350).
2. Sarkar: Aurangzeb V, p. 54.
3. A History of the Maratha People, p. 142.
4. The Baramahal Records, Section, I, Management, p.7.

Khan at Bangalore. This may not be a fact because Chikkadevaraja could not go to the extent of fighting the Mughals who were the only strong power in the south, and who had reduced the two impregnable forts of Bijapur and Golkonda without much difficulty. Moreover, according to Chikkadevaraja Binnapam, Chikkadevaraja actively supported Aurangzeb in his attempt to reduce Bijapur and Golkonda. How could an ally bound by mutual understanding and goodwill suddenly fall upon the Mughal general and harbour disloyal feelings? Further a few years later, Chikkadevaraja sent a goodwill mission under Karanika Lingaiah to the court of Aurangzeb which was kindly received and sent back with titles and presents. If Chikkadevaraja had been the destroyer of the Mughal element at Bangalore what was the necessity to send an embassy to the Mughal court? Or if Chikkadevaraja had really committed aggression against the Mughals, would Aurangzeb, noted for intolerance, receiv kindly the goodwill mission of Mysore and send it back with present It is quite likely that Chikkadevaraja, realising the seriousness of the situation, remained a spectator of the event. Of course, there were more advantages inmaking common cause with the Mughal general to Chikkadevaraja as Wilks believed.[1] He could enlist the love and confidence of the Emperor which would enable him to threaten the numerous chieftains of the south and secure their submission.

What happened at Bangalore was that by the time Harji and Keshav Pant had arrived at Bangalore after patching up their

1. Wilks, I, p.111.

differences, Bangalore was already taken by the Mughal general. Disappointed in their hopes, the two Maratha generals returned to Gingee leaving Khasim Khan the undisputed master of Bangalore. It is held by Kincaid and Parasnis that Harji returned to Gingee and sent 18,000 horse under his two new allies to invade Mysore.[1] This statement contradicts the version given by Sambhaji Patrasara Sangraha that Chikkadevaraja defeated Khasim Khan with the help of Harji Mahadik.[2] As the differences between the Mysoreans and the Marathas continued to be wide, there was no likelihood of the two houses coming together for greater end of south Indian solidarity. Such being the trend of the period the fact that Chikkadevaraja was assisted by Harji Mahadik against the Mughals does not seem to be correct. However, Khasim Khan on his part saw that the Raja would be of immense use to him as an ally. Further finding that he himself would be unable to hold Bangalore for any length of time on account of the expeditions he had to make, was prepared to dispose it off to the Raja for a consideration of three lakhs of rupees "which the Raja was still willing to pay".[3] Chikka devaraja paid the stipulated amount and took Bangalore. This is confirmed by the Imperial Gazetteer: "Venkoji had agreed to sell Bangalore to the Mysore Raja for 3 lakhs of rupees. But Khasim Khan first seized it and then carried out the bargain pocketing the money himself".[4] Aurangzeb after the capture of Golkonda on

1. A.H.M.P, I, p.142.
2. Sambhaji Patrasara Sangraha, p.118.
3. Wilks, I, III.
4. Imperial Gazetteer, Mysore and Coorg, p.21.

21st September 1687, appointed Khasim Khan to be the Foujdar of the Karnatak with Sira as his capital.[1]

Two factors, among others had brought about the death of Ekoji. The conquest of Bangalore by Khasim Khan and his ultimate sale of the fortress for 3 lakhs of Rupees to the king of Mysore dealt a death blow to Ekoji. Secondly, Chikkadevaraja conquered important Maratha places like Chikkanayakanahalli, Kandikere and Tyamagondlu in Mysore. The Mughals on the one side and the Mysoreans on the other systematically worked out to uproot the Marathas from Mysore. The territorial losses without and the troubles within were responsible for the death of Ekoji. About the date of his death sources give different versions. Jedhe Sakavali says that he died in 1684.[2] Orme mentions that Ekoji was still alive at Tanjore in August 1687.[3] Wilks states that he was still alive in July 1687.[4] The Palace Record says that Ekoji, having completed negotiations with Chikkadevaraja of Mysore regarding the sale of Bangalore for Rupees 3 lakhs, was about to receive the money from the king of Mysore. Exactly at that time Khasim Khan came and occupied Bangalore finally hoisting the Mughal flag over its fort on July 10th 1687.[5] This means Ekoji was alive in July 1687. Sarkar places the death of Ekoji in January 1685.[6] The weight of the evidence is in favour of the view that Ekoji

1. Wilks, I, 111.
2. Shivaji Souvenir, p. 29. 3. Historical Fragments, p. 154.
4. Wilks, I, pp. 110-111.
5. Annals, I. C.
6. Aurangzeb V, p. 53, F.N.

was alive in July 1687. So his death might have taken place sometime in August 1687.

Like many other Marathas, Ekoji too followed a policy of hostility towards, Mysore. He supported Sambhaji wholeheartedly in his war against Mysore. He s His internal and external difficulties drove him to dispose off Bangalore for a consideration of Rs.3 lakhs to Chikkadevaraja. But Khasim Khan occupied it. Chikkadevaraja got it from Khasim Khan. Bangalore which had been in the hands of the Marathas since 1638 was occupied by Chikkadevaraja in 1687. The loss of Bangalore was a terrible blow to the Marathas. It signifies that the Maratha influence in Mysore was definitely on the wane. Ekoji followed an unwise policy in disposing off Bangalore. He undid the work of his father in the Karnatak. Although the foundation of Tanjore principality was his contribution, the transference of the principal Maratha principality like Bangalore to the highest bidder was not a good policy. On the contrary, he could have conveniently adopted the policy of his father namely of permanently settling at Bangalore and controlling distant territorial possessions by means of appointing able Maratha generals.

But he failed to do that. On the whole his action showed the weakness of the Maratha principality in the Karnatak and in later years it paved the way for the disappearance of the Maratha influence in Mysore. The Mughal intervention in the affairs of the Karnatak brought a diversion in the Mysore-Maratha relations. Chikkadevaraja befriended the Mughals who were also bent upon the

reduction of the Marathas. However, Ekoji's relations with Mysore were far from friendly.

The purchase of Bangalore by Chikkadevaraja only aggravated the situation. The Marathas bore a severe grudge against Chikkadevaraja. Harji had arrived at Bangalore with a view to rescuing the city from falling into the hands of the Mughals but Khasim Khan had already taken possession of it. This disappointed Harji Besides, the political transaction that went on between the Mughals and Chikkadevaraja further estranged Harji's relations with Chikkadevaraja. It is known that Aurangzeb was busy in the Deccan with the definite objective of rooting out the Marathas. The courting of friendship with such an enemy by Chikkadevaraja was not much liked by Harji. Therefore, he decided to reduee Mysore into a Maratha vassalage.[1] He despatched Keshav Pant and Santaji at the head of 18,000 horse in order to devastate the kingdom of Mysore and destroy Chikkadevaraja.[2] Keshav Pant and Santaji entered and plundered Mysore territory.[3] A terrible battle was fought between the Mysore army and the Marathas in the neighbourhood of Srirangapatna in which the Marathas were defeated.[4] Highly elated at the success, the Mysoreans ridiculed the Marathas by saying, "Oh! Marathas, quit Mysore. This place is neither Bhaganagar nor Bijapur for your game of fight".[5] This is the

1. Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P., p. 142.
2. Ibid.
3. Marathi Riyasat, Part II, p. 91.
4. A.V.C., III, V.130. Senasi Mahisura Bhatarol Ponardalidar polabugetty mayi Marattar.
5. Ibid., Velele Maratarira nim tolatolagim Bhaganagara Vijaya purada nelanaltidu nimmatake.

version we get in the Kannada source. Grant Duff and the Marathi Rivasat give different versions. Grant Duff maintains that "they (the Marathas) entered the country of Mysore where they levied contributions and remained several months but made no permanent conquests".[1] Marathi Rivasat says that Keshav Pant plundered Mysore.[2] These sources suggest that the Marathas plundered Mysore before they came into armed conflict with the Mysore army. Harji's ambition of reducing Mysore received a staggering blow when the Marathas were defeated and pursued by Chikkadevaraja. Grant Duff's view that the Marathas remained for several months in the Mysore territory does not seem to be correct because Harji had to defend his Gingee principality against the Mughal attack. The Madras Diary of 1687 states that ten thousand Mughal horse descended to "the Gingee country commanded by Khasim Khan to war against the Marathas". Therefore, Harji was left with no alternative but to recall his Maratha army from Mysore immediately.

The consequences of the Maratha invasion of Mysore were that the relations between the two powers were not improved. The differences between the two continued to be wide. Harji followed the traditional policy of hostility towards Mysore. After Ekoji's death, Harji was the principal Maratha general in the south workin for the preservation of the Maratha interests. Chikkadevaraja

1. History of the Maharattas, Vol. I, p. 350.
2. Part 2, p. 91.

defended himself against the Maratha onslaught and with the occupation of Bangalore, his task of eliminating the Marathas from Mysore became easy. On the whole the policy of hostility between the Mysoreans and the Marathas was neither beneficial nor honourable because in their quarrel a third party was benefitted, namely the Mughals.

If Bangalore went to the possession of Chikkadevaraja, Doddaballapur, another Maratha centre, was occupied by Khasim Khan. An inscription from Doddaballapur says, "in the reign of Aurangzeb Alamgir Badshah, the fort of Balapura was in the hands of Sambha family. Through the exertions of Khasim Khan, foujdar of Karnatak province of the Bijapur Subah, it then passed from the hands of Sambadud son of Sivadud Maratha and came into the possession of the Supreme Government".[1] Thus the Maratha territories were divided between Chikkadevaraja and Khasim Khan. The Mysore Raja and the Mughals were united to put down the Marathas and confiscate their territorial possessions, in the Karnatak. The Marathas could not survive the shocks of the loss of Bangalore and Doddaballapur. The power of the Marathas began to grow weak in the Karnatak.

For two years from 1687 to 1688 when Sambhaji was involved in life and death struggle with Aurangzeb, nothing particular happened in his relations with Mysore. Harji Mahadik too could not turn his attention towards the affairs of Mysore

1. E.C. Vol. IX, Db. 31. p.66, text 82; Archaeological Report of Mysore, 1906, p. 5.

owing to the Mughal disturbance in the south. Besides this Mughal aggression Harji had his own project of extending the territories of Gingee. The Madras Diary of December 1687 says "Having advice from the Maratha camp that Maratha forces in the Gingee country under the command of Harji Maharaja were upon their march with 2000 horse and 5000 foot with a greater number of pioneers and scaling ladders that they had plundered and taken several towns and committed various other atrocities and that most of the inhabitants left Conjeevaram and other places to secure their persons and estates".[1] In undertaking the devastating expedition in the region of Arcot and Conjeevaram, Harji never acted in concert with the other Maratha generals. Kesava Pant opposed Harji. Orme writes, "Harji summoned Keisswa Puntolo to march and reduce the countries to the north of Paliar, which had just submitted to the Moghul. Keisswa Puntolo seems to have refused any connection with him, on which Harji sent forward a detachment under the comman of two officers who in a fortnight were in quiet possession of Arco Conjeevaram and Punamalee".[2] These conquests naturally did not allow Harji to concentrate his attention on the affairs of Mysore.

Chikkadevaraja followed a consistent policy of conquering the Maratha territories in the Karnatak.. He launched the expedition at the right time. Harji was occupied with the defence of hi Gingee principality against Khasim Khan's attacks where as Sambhaji was involved in life and death struggle against Aurangzeb.

1. Records of Fort St.George, 1687.
2. Orme: Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire of the Morattoes and the English Concerns in Indostan, p. 158.

"Aurangzeb swore that he would never return to Delhi until he had seen the head of Sambhaji weltering at his feet".[1] Ekoji was succeeded by his son, Shahji II to the throne of Tanjore but he was not a strong Maratha. Taking advantage of the situation, Chikkadevaraja directed his Deputy, Chikkaiya (Gurikara Chikkaiya) of Sankagiri to seize Hoskote and its dependencies which were under the control of the Marathas. Accordingly Chikkaiya went and occupied the Maratha territories. In November 1688 Chikkadevaraja secured the surrender of Manugonde durga, Mannargudi and Vamalur and in January 1689 he reduced Dharmapuri.[2] These places had been lost to Mysore during Sambhaji wars. Chikkadevaraja recovered all those Maratha territories and established his rule over them. Chikkadevaraja was able to reduce those Maratha territories because there was no opposition from the Marathas. Sambhaji could neither pay personal attention to the affairs of the Karnatak nor direct his general, Harji, to arrest the progress of Mysore because his life was in danger.

Intent upon uprooting the Marathas, Aurangzeb instructed his general, Shaik Nizam to capture Sambhaji who was then at Sangameswar. Linganna Kavi says, "proceeding with rapid marches, Shaik Nizam arrived at Sangameswar, bribed the guards of the gate and captured Sambhaji who was playing with a number of girls on the bank of the river, Sangameswar".[3] This took place on 1 February 1689.[4]

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1. Orme: Historical Fragments, p.201.
2. Mys. Dho. Pur. II, pp.38-42; Sachchudrachara Nirnava, p.121; C.Bin., pp.58-59; Annals, I, pp. 107-108.
3. Ke.N.V., p.159, Vs. 75-76.
4. Shivaji Souvenir, p. 31.

Sambhaji and his followers were taken to Aurangzeb. Sambhaji showed disrespect to the emperor and the consequent result was that Aurangzeb ordered the execution of Sambhaji. On 11 March 1689 Sambhaji was tortured to death.[1]

The news of Sambhaji's death spread like a wild fire. Chikkadevaraja felt that the main obstacle in the way of Mysore expansion was removed. He invaded Paramathi and occupied it in May 1689. At the instance of Chikkadevaraja, his another Deputy, Lingarajaiya (Gurikara Lingarajaiva) stationed at Coimbatore, seized Kaveripattan and occupied it in July. Chikkadevaraja reduced Kunturdurga (Kunnathur) in September and in the subsequent month he annexed Anantagiri.[2] Harji Mahadik could not resist Chikkadevaraja's aggression because he had neither the sufficient money nor the well disciplined army to cope with the situation. In view of these difficulties, Harji entered into an agreement with Chikkadevaraja by which Anantagiri remained the southern limit of Mysore.

Harji did not survive long to protect the interests of the Marathas in the south. He passed away in 1689. His death dealt a death-blow to the very foundation of Maratha interests in the Karnatak. The era of Maratha greatness in the south ended. Mysore grew in extent and power. Chikkadevaraja occupied Kengeri Bevuhalli and Bairanahathi and extended the Mysore zone of

1. Ke. N.V., p. 159; Shivaji Souvenir, p. 22.
2. C.Bin., p. 2, Vs. 6-9; Gita Govinda, p. 63; A.V.C., I. 8; III, 57.

influence upto Sira, the Mughal centre in the Karnatak.[1]

Chikkadevaraja reached the height of his glory in 1690. He had conquered a number of Maratha strongholds both in the south and the north. He had securely established in the northern as well as in southern frontiers of Mysore at the end of his continued struggle with the Marathas as the Apratima Vira Charitam testifies.[2]

Viewed from the angle of the Mysore - Maratha relations, it can be said that the relations between the two powers had been far from friendly. The bitter hostility between the two powers paved the way for the Mughals to take part in the changing politics of the south. The Mysore Raja and the Mughals were united together to suppress the Marathas in the south, with the result, the Maratha power declined in the Karnatak. Had the Mysore Raja and the Marathas adjusted their relations, it could have been possible to prevent the Mughal incursions into the south. But none of them realised the value of accommodation in the face of the Mughal danger.

Several factors widened the gulf between the Marathas and the Mysore Raja. Chief among them were Ekoji's attitude towards Mysore, the role of the local chieftains, the ambition of Harji Mahadik and the ability of the Mysore Raja. First, Ekoji never maintained friendly relations with Mysore. He had cor

1. Sachchudrachara Nirnava.
2. A.V.C., I, 8.

in support of Sambhaji when the latter launched his Mysore expedition in 1682 but had been defeated and pursued by Chikkadevaraja. He had followed an unwise policy in disposing off Bangalore to the highest bidder. Bangalore which had been the strong Maratha centre in the Karnatak since1638 had been lost to the Marathas in 1687. In doing so, Ekoji had weakened the Maratha cause in the Karnatak. Chikkadevaraja had purchased Bangalore from Khasim Khan and made it his military base for further conquests in the north.

Secondly, the chieftains of Tigula, Morasa, Coorg, Malavala countries, the Nayak of Ikkeri and Qutb Shah of Golkonda spoiled the relations of Sambhaji with the Mysore Raja. They were selfish and unimaginative. They had supported Sambhaji in his two devastating expeditions into the kingdom of Mysore. They had assisted Sambhaji thinking that their political position would be improved but Sambhaji's defeat at the hands of Chikkadevaraja had disappointed and made their position still worse. They did not work to improve the relations of Sambhaji with Chikkadevaraja.

Thirdly, Harji Mahadik followed a traditional policy of hostility towards Mysore. His attack of Trichinopoly, his treatment of Kumaraiya at Trichinopoly, his sending of Dadaji Kakade, Jaitaji Katkar and Nimbalkar to attempt the immediate acquistion of Srirangapatna, and his subsequent wars with Mysore show that he was not prepared to narrow down the differences and accommodate matters with Mysore. His relentless wars and mutual rivalry

had paved the way for the Mughals to intervene in the affairs of the south.

Lastly, Chikkadevaraja was an able ruler. He had been wedded to both camp and court. He had led the army in person to the battle field and conducted the military operations. In devising strategy, and in planning night attacks to surprise the enemies, he was an expert. In war and diplomacy of the period he had excelled others. With such an able person, the relations would not be smooth. On the whole during the time of Sambhaji, the traditional policy of hostility continued unabated between the two powers. Viewed in the larger interests of the need for friendly relations, the policy of hostility was neither honourable nor beneficial to either of the two states, Mysore and Maharashtra.

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CHAPTER V

CHIKKADEVARAJA'S RELATIONS WITH RAJARAM

1689-1700

On the capture of Sambhaji by the Mughals the edifice of the Maratha State built up by Shivaji seemed to fall to pieces. All the top-ranking people of Maharahstra instantly convened a council with Yesu bai as its President. The council decided to enthrone Shivaji II with Rajaram the younger brother of Sambhaji as the regent. Upon that Rajaram rose up and delivered an inspiring speech calling upon all those that gathered there to forget anger and resentment at Sambhaji and to render their selfless service to the country.[1] Keladi Nripa Vijaya says that "Ramaraj (Rajaram) brother of Sambhaji was crowned".[2] But Rajaram Charitam says that Rajaram refused to be crowned. He remained loyal to Shivaji II as Bharatha did to Rama famed in Ramayana.[3] It is quite likely that Rajaram remained uncrowned but did the work of a crowned prince.

Rajaram left Raigad with his followers and established himself at Pratapgad. But Raigad was captured along with Yesubai and Shivaji II by Zulfikar Khan on 3 November 1689 after a siege of eight months.[4] Chikkadevaraja from the south and Aurangzeb from

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1. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, p. 335.
2. Ke.N.V., p.160; v.77: Nere tatsombhaji ya Sodaranenisuva Ramarajanurupattavananthu. Here Linganna Kavi calls Rajaram as Ramaraja.
3. Rajaram Charitam. pp.9-10.
4. Shivaji Souvenir, p. 32.

the north troubled the Marathas. A Mughal force descended to Pratapgad to exterminate the Marathas including Rajaram but very soon Rajaram left the place and took up his residence at Panhala. But that fort was also won after a bitter fight by the Mughals. Realising the seriousness of the situation, Rajaram decided to leave the place.[1] Rajaram left Panhala about the end of June 1689 and after many perilous adventures and a period of concealment in the Bednur and Bangalore territories, reached Vellore in the last week of October and entered Gingee in humble disguise four days later.[2] Thus the Mughal - Maratha struggle in the region of Maharashtra and the shifting of the Maratha centre from Panhala to Gingee afforded a golden opportunity for Chikkadevaraja to make conquests in the south and south-east of Mysore.

The perilous adventures of Rajaram and his party in the region of Karnatak are interesting factors in the Mysore-Maratha relations. Being pursued by the Mughal detachment, Rajaram and his followers passed the difficult and narrow route of Sahyadri and stepped on the soil of the Bednur kingdom. Sojourning at Ponnali (Honnali) in Shimoga District, Rajaram sent words to Channammaji, the ruler of Bednur kingdom seeking her help. The he that Rajaram wanted was that his party should be escorted to

1. Ke. N.V., p. 160, Vs.77-80: Ramarajam Pannaliyananatu thiruthire ahour vathishavadol avaintalavam .... anu chitha villi hududendenutam tad ramarajanallim teraldu.

2. Shivaji Souvenir, p.32; Sarkar: Aurangzeb, V, pp.23-24.

Gingee without being attacked by the Mughals.[1] The help that was needed by Rajaram landed Channammaji in a dilemma. In the first place, the Bednur Nayaks and the Marathas had been on friendly terms and since Rajaram himself had come to Bednur in his distress, it was but natural that she should help him. Secondly, since the Mughals and the Marathas were on hostile terms, any attempt on the part of Channammaji to accord help to the Marathas would naturally bring about the Mughal invasion of Bednur. Lastly, Channammaji thought that Mysore also might rise up in arms against her. What Channammaji thought came out true in later years. The Mughals and the Mysore Raja invaded Bednur and caused incalculable havocs.

Channammaji wished to take the advice of (his) ministers on the point of helping the Marathas. She convened the council of ministers and appraised them of the real situation. They decided in favour of supporting the Marathas because they considered that it was impolitic to deny aid even to the enemy if he would come to their doors. Thereupon Channammaji welcomed Rajaram and his followers warmly, treated them kindly and supplied them with all the necessary facilities to pass through her kingdom unperceived by the Mughals.[2] Thus Channammaji rendered

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1. Ke. N.V., IX, p. 161 Shivajiya putranenippaRamarajam Pannaliyam palayanambadedaidi Ponnaliyam pokku tanaitandu pokka vrittanta vellamam Channammajiyavarigaruhisi Mogalarge gochara magadanthu mimmagadi rajyadim Chandige dantisi kodalvelkendu bahu prakaradim pelisal. Kincaid and Parasnis (A.H.M.P., p. 158) say that Channamma was a feudatory of the Maratha king. It is difficult to agree with this view because Bednur was not a tributary state of Maharashtra. In fact the Nayaks of Bednur and the Marathas were on friendly terms.
2. Ke. N.V., IX, p. 161.

her help to the Marathas in their difficulties.

The result of her policy with the Marathas was that she had to defend her capital against the formidable invasion of Jan Nisar Khan, the Mughal general, who was sent by Aurangzeb in pursuit of the Maratha fugitives. The Mughal general demanded the Rani to surrender the Maratha prince and his followers. Channammaji told the Mughal general that the Marathas were not in her kingdom. In order to purchase the retreat of the Mughals, she presented them with some costly jewels and clothes. This diplomacy did not work smoothly. The Mughal general received the presents, captured four Maratha fugitives, namely, Ruppaji Bhosle, Santaji, Jagadaba Manoji and Raja Rao and sent them to Aurangzeb complaining that the Rani was repugnant to deliver the Maratha prince.[1] Aurangzeb sent his son Azambara to invade Bednur in cooperation with Jan Nisar Khan. The combined Mughal army took possession of the fortresses of Mahadevapura and Anandapura in Shimoga District and finally laid siege to Bednur itself. Channammaji's life was in danger. She escaped to Bhuvanagiri, a fortress near Bednur, from where she directed her attacks. A terrible battle was fought between the two armies under the walls of Bednur.[2]

As to whom won the victory, sources differ. First Linganna Kavi says that the Mughals suffered defeat and concluded

1. Ke. N.V., IX, p. 161-162.
2. Ibid., pp. 162-163.

a treaty with Channammaji.[1] Secondly, the Portuguese Viceroy in his letter of 1691 to the king of Portugal describes that Channammaji was forced to sue for peace with the Mughals.[2] Thirdly, according to the Persian source the war was waged between the Mughals and the Marathas on the Bednur territory which at last came to a speedy termination by the intervention of Rani Channammaji who purchased peace by paying small ransom. "Santa (Santaji) triumphantly opposed them, till at last the matter was settled by the Rani paying a small fine under the name of tribute".[3] These sources reveal that the Marathas under Santaji combined with the Bednur army and fought against the Mughal army. It is quite likely that Channammaji, realising the horrors of war, neutralised the hostility and brought the war to a close by paying ransom to the Mughals. Thus Channammaji suffered in men and materials for having helped the Maratha prince. Her relations with the Mughals were strained greatly.

No sooner the Mughal danger was over another difficulty was offered itself. The protection offered to the Marathas and the fight with the Mughals were the factors which Chikkadevaraja could not ignore. Chikkadevaraja took Channammaji to task for her pro-Maratha policy by projecting his schemes of conquest in the direction of the Bednur kingdom. In April 1690 Bagadi was occupied and in the subsequent month Harpanahalli and Banavara

1. Ibid.
2. Appendix-6
3. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, p. 236.

were taken. Thimmappaiya, the Mysore Dalvoy, went and reduced Kadur, Sakrepatna and Vasthare in June and August, Chikkamagalur and Maharajanadurga in the same month, August 1690.[1] Thus Chikkadevaraja annexed a number of territories in the kingdom of Bednur. Channammaji could not prevent the expansion of Mysore because the Mughals on the one side and the Mysore Raja on the other conducted atrocious wars, attacked a number of her territories and caused incalculable havocs in her kingdom. She had neither the adequate army nor the well-filled treasury to cope with the situation. Thu for her pro-Maratha policy, Channammaji ~~suffered heavily~~ was harassed both from the Mughals and the Mysoreans.

As to the objectives with which these conquests are made, C.Hayavadana Rao says that it was to justify the title, "Karnataka Chakravarthi", Chikkadevaraja projected this campaign of conquest in the direction of Ikkeri.[2] This statement is not based on any evidence. A few territorial conquests in the direction of Ikkeri were not sufficient to justify his title, Karnataka Chakravarthi. There were some important towns such as Kolar, Doddaballapur and others which were not conquered by Chikkadevaraja and the conquests of which were very essential to call himself "Karnataka Chakravarth Any way the object of these conquests was to punish Channammaji for her policy of aiding the Marathas.

Adverting to the flight of Rajaram across the Karnatak

1. Annals, I, p.108; Mys. Dho. Pur., II, 43-45.
2. History of Mysore, p. 310.

region, it must be noted that the Maratha party arrived in Bangalore which was then under the control of Chikkadevaraja. The Mysore-Mughal contact made the Mughals move freely in the Mysore kingdom. The Mughal vigilant guards were already in Bangalore. The way in which the treatment was accorded to Rajaram by his followers made the Mughal officers suspicious of the party. The impending danger was averted by the devoted loyalty of Kondo Ballal Chitnis who advised Rajaram to leave the place as early as possible. He chose to remain on the spot maintaining successfully his character as one of the pilgrims to Rameswaram. Rajaram went by one route and Prahlad Niraji by another route. These that stayed were subjected to severe torture by the Mughal officers but their loyalty to the Maratha cause was such that they never disclosed their identity.[1] Thus the Marathas escaped the wrath of the Mughal officers at Bangalore.

Chikkadevaraja did not take any step to bar the movements of the Marathas because as long as his territories remained unaffected by their movements, there was no reason for him to worry. Moreover, the Marathas were marching swiftly under the guise of pilgrims to Rameswaram frequently feeding with the Mughal danger and as such it might have been impossible for the Raja to find out their identity and to adopt effective steps to deal with them. And more than that, since the Mughals were in pursuit of the Marathas to destroy them completely in the south, the task of Chikkadevaraja in dealing with the Marathas was comparatively less. On the whole

1. Kincaid and Parasnis: A.H.M.P., pp. 158-159.

nothing particular happened in Chikkadevaraja's relations with the Marathas when Rajaram and his followers were in Bangalore.

At Channapatna an event of great importance took place which strained the Mysore-Maratha relations. The old officers of Golkonda who had been taken to the service of the Mughals turned disloyal owing to the autocratic authority of Aurangzeb. They were ready to join the Marathas. The two Golkonda officers Yachama Nayak and Ismail Maka deserted the Mughal cause and made alliance with Rajaram through the mediation of the Peshwa Nilo Moreshwar Pingle at Channapatna. Jedhe Sakavali says, "Yachappa Nair, Ismail Khan and 4000 cavalry of the Mughals rebelled and interviewed Rajaram through Nilopant at Chennapatan".[1] There were certain reasons for the Golkonda officers to turn disloyal and make friendship with the Marathas. Eversince the days of the Shivaji's Karnatak expedition, Golkonda Sultan and the Marathas had been on friendly terms. The Golkonda Sultan had financed the Karnatak expedition of Shivaji and had supported Sambhaji in his tw devastating Mysore expeditions. But Aurangzeb had destroyed Golkonda and forcibly taken the Golkonda army under his service. When the Golkonda officers were despatched in search of the Maratha fugitives, they joined the Marathas at Channapatna. It is said that with this army the Marathas subdued Channapatna and descended to the south after posting two Maratha officers, Ekoji and Shivaji to govern the Channapatna principality.[2] It is not quite likely

1. Shivaji Souvenir, pp. 32-33.
2. Baramahal Records, Section V, Property 1915, p. 1.

that Rajaram conducted the military operation at Channapatna, because Rajaram was moving with all his rapidity in order to escape the vigilance of the Mughals. Therefore any delay in his project would be dangerous. Further he had taken the discontented Golkonda officers into his service and thereby had given sufficient offence to the Mughal emperor. Therefore reaching of a secure place, namely Gingee to defend himself against the Mughal onslaught was his immediate concern. Moreover, Rajaram had left Panhala on 25 September 1689 and reached Vellore on 28 October.[1] It is known that Rajaram had gone through many adventures after leaving Panhala. If Rajaram stood at Channapatna conducting the military operation, it would not have been possible for him to reach Vellore in October 1689. Therefore, Santaji Ghorpade who had fought against the Mughals in close cooperation with the Bednur army under the walls of Bednur fort might have plundered the Jagadeva Raval's principality and taken possession of Channapatna.

The conquest of Channapatna by the Marathas attracted the attention of Chikkadevaraja. The Mysore army was despatched to Channapatna where a terrible battle was fought in which the Marathas were defeated and pursued.[2] Thus the attempt of the Marathas to take Channapatna was foiled. The result of this battle was that the relations between the two powers were strained

1. Sarkar: History of Aurangzeb, Vol. V, pp. 23-24.
2. C.Bin., pp. 58-59.

greatly. Each party tried to overwhelm the other and exploit the situation for its own advantage.

Before the fighting began at Channapatna between the two armies, Rajaram and his followers left that place and towards the middle of October 1689, they reached Srirangapatna. Edward Scott Waring writes, "Rama upon the murder of his brother fled closely pursued by the enemy to Seringapatam. He effected his escape across the Cauvery with only two of his followers and retired into Gingee".[1] Since he was going with only two of his followers, that too, under the guise of Lingayat pilgrims, no event of any serious nature seemed to have taken place at Srirangapatna. If there was any trouble to the Marathas from Mysore, Kannada sources would have mentioned it. But as we see there is no mention of any Mysore - Maratha conflict at Srirangapatna in the contemporary Kannada sources.

Rajaram and his followers reached Gingee in October 1689 and established the Maratha court. This meant to the Mughals the rise of a new Maratha power in Gingee. War began more vigorously than before between the Mughals and the Marathas. The result of Aurangzeb's idea of exterminating the Marathas was that he was compelled to spend the last years of his life in tents and miserable camps.

On his arrival in Gingee, Rajaram made an appeal to all

1. A History of the Mahrattas, p. 119.

the persons in the Maratha Government to join him and to strengthen his hand to meet the Mughal danger. The East India Company record of 1689 says, "Rajaram on his arrival, sent a summon to all in any considerable employment in the Government to make their appearance before him". His aim was reported to be "to divert the Mughal army from his kingdom of Gingee and join with several Hindu Nayaks and raise a considerable army to retake the Golkonda and Bijapur kingdom".[1] On 22 March 1690 Rajaram wrote to the Deshmukh of Kari, "we have enlisted on arrival in the Karnatak forty thousand cavalry and a lac and a quarter of infantry. The local palegars and fighting elements are fast rallying to the Maratha standard".[2]

Having strengthened his position, Rajaram turned his attention towards the Mysore territorial possessions in the south. He recovered places like Paramathi, Namkal and Dharmapuri from Mysore and strengthened the Maratha principality. Mysore could not prevent the Maratha aggression because it was at war with Bednur.[3] The war continued for nearly seven months (April 1690 - September 1690) during which time the Marathas had wrested all the territories of Mysore in the south and south-east. So far as the Mysore-Maratha relations were concerned, it can be said that their relations went from bad to worse. They never lived as peaceful neighbours. One's difficulty was another's opportunity. They

1. Madras Diary, 14 November and 6 December 1689.
2. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, pp. 328-329.
3. Annals, I, p. 108; Mys. Dho. Pur., II. 43; A.V.C., III, 71, 79 and 143.

never realised the essence of unity in face of the Mughal danger. Unable to withstand the Mughal expansion in the south, Mysore became the Mughal ally and the Marathas put up a stout opposition but after realising the futility of further resistance, they quitted the south for Maharashtra.

The existence of the Maratha kingdom at Gingee with civil and military establishments created a new problem to Aurangzeb. He was not a person to budge even an inch from his determined resolution. He met the challenge of the Marathas at its own level. He despatched Zulfikar Khan, son of Asad Khan (one of the ministers of Aurangzeb) at the head of a big army with instructions to reduce Gingee.[1] Passing by way of Raichur, Karnul, Kadapa, Bednur, Channapatna and Mysore, Zulfikar Khan arrived in Gingee in September 1690 and immediately laid siege to the fort of Gingee.[2] In order to strengthen Zulfikar Khan, Aurangzeb detached his son, Kambaksha with additional reinforcements.[3] The siege continued for several years. Zulfikar Khan was not sincere in his purpose. He entered into a secret understanding with Rajaram. Both of them agreed that they should establish independent Government in the south. The secret treaty was concluded on the assumption that Aurangzeb would die soon and that his death would be followed by the war of

1. Ke. N.V., IX, p. 163, V.89. Rajaram Chandiya pokka varthamanama Aurangazeba pathusaham keldu balikkam tanna mantriyada Asat Khanana maga Jalpura Khananodane herala sainyamam kudisi teralch
2. Ibid., Avanu atyantatopadim teraldaitandu Chandiya gadakke muttigevanikkal.
3. Ibid.

succession among his sons.[1] But to their misfortune Aurangzeb lived longer. Wilks says, "the tedious and ill-conceived siege of this eastern Troy prolonged for many years, by the treachery, cabals and intrigues of the chiefs and by a secret struggle between a prince of the blood and Zulfecar Khan for the independent sovereignty which each of them had desired to establish in his own person. The attack and defence were equally a theatrical exhibition, in which the chief actors performed their concerted parts".[2]

The secret treaty which was the basis for the prolonged siege of the Gingee fort was made use of by the Marathas to attempt territorial conquests in that region. Santaji Ghorpade was an ambitious Maratha. He arrived in Gingee with 15,000 horse on 14 December 1692. This gave added strength to the Marathas. Santaji went and occupied Trichinopoly without much difficulty. Rajaram visited the spot in person. Unable to resist the Maratha aggression, the Nayak of Madura entered into a treaty with Rajaram on 10 April 1693, according to which he gave away Trichinopoly to the Marathas.[3] The loss of Trichinopoly had something to do with Mysore. Trichinopoly was a disputed territory. The three contending parties, namely, the

1. Sardesai: N.H.M., I, p. 333.
2. Wilks, I, p. 229. The records of Fort St.George, the Memoirs of Francois Martin (recently edited by A.Martineau, ex-Governor of Pondichery and published in 3 volumes, 1933), Jedhe Sakavali and Keladi Nripa Vijaya give an account of details of the politics and Military operations of the Gingee country.
3. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol. V, pp. 74-78.

Nayak of Madura, the king of Mysore and the Marathas had laid claim to it. Mysore had claimed it because Chokkanatha Nayak of Madura, in his anxiety to relieve himself from the clutches of the usurper commander namely, Rustam Khan, had appealed to Chikkadevaraja for help. Chikkadevaraja had sent his military help and relieved the Nayak from his difficulties. In return for his help, Chikkadevaraja had demanded the surrender of Trichinopoly to Mysore. But Chokkanatha Nayak had turned deaf ear to the Mysore demand and in alliance with Harji Mahadik and Ekoji, had defended Trichinopoly. The Marathas had pretended to help the Nayak but their real motive had been to occupy Trichinopoly.[1] The occupation of Trichinopoly was not accomplished by the Marathas in 1682 but Santaji Ghorpade finished it in 1693. Chikkadevaraja who planned "the conquest of the dominions of the Nayak of Madura"[2] was sorely disappointed by the Maratha occupation of Trichinopoly. By 1693 the Marathas were in possession of important Mysore territories such as Paramathi, Namakal and Dharmapuri. Since Mysore was not reconciled to the loss of Trichinopoly, war between the Marathas and the Mysore Raja was inevitable. The Marathas did not continue the policy of conquering Mysore territories because the Mughals intensified their activities involving the Marathas in life and death struggle. It was only in 1696 that the Marathas came into bitter conflict with the Mysore Raja.

Santaji Ghorpade who was operating at Gingee, had quarrelled

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1. See Chapter on Sambhaji.
2. Wilks, I, pp. 114-115.

with Rajaram and retired, whereupon Dhanaji was appointed Commander-in-Chief in 1693.[1] Shankarji Pant advised Santaji properly and sent him to the Karnatak with an army of 25,000 troops to assist Rajaram in October 1694.[2] Santaji Ghorpade descended to the Karnatak plundering the towns and villages on the way. Learning this, Aurangzeb despatched Kanazad Khan from the imperial camp to assist Khasim Khan in intercepting the raiders. Towards the end of 1693, Khasim Khan was attacked by Santaji near Dodderi. In his war with Khasim Khan, Santaji was actively supported by Baramappa Nayak of Chitradurga. The reason for his assistance seems to be the cruelties and brigandages perpetrated by Khasim Khan in the war of 1690. Kudutani Venkanna and Holalkere Bommanna, able generals of Chitradurga were sent with an army to reinforce Santaji. Barammappa Nayak revealed the Maratha general all the secret military arrangements made by the Mughals at Dodderi.[3] The Kannada account is fully confirmed by the Persian source which states that "Baramappa Nayak the Zamindar (Palegar) of the Chittaldrug district, who bore a severe grudge against Qasim Khan, for having been humbled by that general (in the war of 1690), now aided with the Marathas".[4] Fully reinforced by the Chitradurga army, Santaji invested the fort of Dodderi closely where the Mughal generals Khasim Khan and Khanazad Khan took refuge. Santaji exposed the two Khans to

1. Shivaji Souvenir, p. 35.
2. Ibid.
3. Palayagars of Chitradurga, p. 41.
4. Masir-i-Alamgiri-Sarkar's Aurangzeb Vol.V, p. 112.

starvation for three days. On the 5th of January 1696, Santaji Ghorpade captured the two Khans. Khasim Khan was killed and Khanazad was ransomed for Rs.1 lakh.[1] Santaji Ghorpade gave back Dodderi to Baramappa Nayak as agreed upon previously.[2] By this time Himmat Khan Bahadur was detached from the imperial camp to reinforce Khasim Khan. He had taken refuge at Basavapatna. Santaji Ghorpade arrived at Basavapatna and killed Himmat Khan in January, 1696.[3] The two successes at Dodderi and Basavapatna led Santaji Ghorpade to plan more territorial acquisitions in the Karnatak and to find out possible means to check the onrush of the Mughals in that region. With that end in view, Santaji encamped at Sira. A letter of Fort St. George dated 14 April, 1696, says that "there are frequent and various reports of an army coming from the King's (Aurangzeb's) camp under the command of Deader Bux, the son of Arum Turra which is probably the reason why Santogee Gorpara stays with an army of 15,000 about Seerpe (Sira) to oppose their entrance into the Cornatta country and prevent their joining with Zalphaker Cawne".[4] Having intelligence of Aurangzeb sending heavy treasures to finance Zulfikar Khan in the south, Santaji rode with a large army and intercepted the treasure at Kadapa in November 1696. Zulfikar Khan changed his plan and moved in another direction. Santaji changed his plan and entered Mysore in December, 1696.[5]

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1. Shivaji Souvenir, p. 37.
2. Palayagars of Chitradurga, p. 41.
3. Shivaji Souvenir, p. 37.
4. Records of Fort St.George: Letter from Fort St.George for 1696, p.29, No.34.
5. Ibid., Diary and Consultation Book, 1696, p. 42.

Chikkadevaraja of Mysore encountered the Maratha army under Santaji and severely defeated it.[1] In the meanwhile Zulfikar Khan was ordered by Aurangzeb to follow Santaji into Mysore. A letter of Fort St.George dated 31st December, 1696, says that "king hath ordered Dider (Bux) to Chingee and Zulphaker Cawn to follow after Santogee into the Myzore (Mysore) country".[2] Further in the mutiliated paragraph of the Madras record of January 19th 1696-97, Wilks has observed the following, "Nabob Zulphecar Cawn is gone into the Mizore country after the Maratha army and hath left a very small part of his army in these parts".[3] Zulfikar Khan was disappointed because Santaji being defeated by Chikkadevaraja, had already left the field.[4] Wilks says, "finding on his arrival in or near Mysoor that the Mahratta was already defeated and dispersed he returned immediately to the lower country".[5]

The flight of Santaji across the kingdom of Mysore hotly pursued by the Mughals and his defeat by Chikkadevaraja marked the last phase in the Mysore-Maratha relations of the 17th century. The triumph of the Raja was echoed in the Kannada source, Apratima Vira Charitam: "Chikkadevaraja lifted up the darkness of infamy from the Karnatak and established his golden rule there by defeatir the Marathas".[6] According to the Kannada source, the latter had repented for having entered the Karnatak and been ignominiously

1. C.Bin., pp. 58-59.
2. Diary and Consultation Book, 1696, p. 166.
3. History of Mysore, Vol.I, p. 114, F.N.2.
4. Appendix-7.
5. History of Mysore, Vol.I, p. 114.
6. A.V.C., III, V.136. Manda marathara duryashadindam mige masivar karnatakada kandam kaledapratimam chandadol Chandadolurevalpavadisidam nijayashadim.

disgraced by the Raja. For their stupidity in entering into squabbles with the Raja, they lost the chance of making permanent settlements in the Karnatak.[1] If Santaji had kept up the brilliant record and prosecuted the war against the Mughals maintaining at the same time friendly relations with his colleagues, the history of the Marathas in the Karnatak would have been different but misfortune followed him and rupture began between him and Danaji on the question of holding the post of Senapati. This finally led to his downfall and in June 1697 he was killed by Nagoji Mane near Shambhu-Mahadeo.[2]

Chikkadevaraja then turned his attention towards the East and reconquered Salem, Paramathi, Namakal and Tammambatti in March-April, 1697.[3] The rulers of Tanjore, Madura and Gingee were terror-stricken at this.[4] While Chikkadevaraja was engaged himself in conquering the eastern countries, the situation at Gingee went from bad to worse. Aurangzeb ordered Zulfikar Khan to commence the siege of Gingee in right earnest.[4(a)] Accordingly Zulfikar Khan captured Gingee on 30 January, 1698. By that time Rajaram slipped away from the fort and reached Vellore (26th January 1698).[5] The fall of Gingee signalised the end of the Mughal-Maratha struggle in the south and the scene of hostile

1. Ibid., V.139.
2. Shivaji Souvenir, p. 38.
3. Annals, I, p. 109; Mys. Dho. Pur., II, 48.
4. A.V.C., III 69, IV, 18.
4(a) Records of Fort St.George; Diary and Consultation Book of 1697, p. 128.
5. Shivaji Souvenir, p. 39.

activities was transferred from the Karnatak to Maharashtra.

Apratima Vira Charitam frequently mentions the defeat suffered by the Marathas and the Mughals at the hands of Chikkadevaraja. "Great were the Mughals for war; greater still were the Marathas; greatest was Chikkadevaraja of all the said powers as he had defeated all of them in the battle field".[1] Another stanza says, "Encountering the Mysorean army, the Mughals were routed and fallen".[2] Yet another stanza reveals that "those who feared the Mughals and the Marathas were not really the great powers but Chikkadevaraja who vanquished the Mughals and the Marathas was really the greatest ruler".[3] It is already known that the Marathas under Santaji were defeated by Chikkadevaraja. Now we shall examine the reverses suffered by the Mughals.

After the fall of Gingee Aurangzeb ordered his generals still at Gingee to march on different countries of the south. If Manucci is to be believed, "it is his (Aurangzeb's) practice to denude them (the southern kingdoms) slowly of their wealth, then of their territory, finally of their life".[4] He did not seem to have followed a consistent policy towards any state. Mysore, though an ally of the Mughals, was brought into armed conflict with the Mughal generals. Fort St.George letter of

1. A.V.C., III, V.118.
2. Ibid., V.130.
3. Ibid., Vs. 180, 184.
4. Storia Do Mogor, ii, p. 444.

16 June 1698 says: "the king ordered most of them to other employments and the Nabob (Zalfikar Khan) to go against Tanjore or Misore, (Mysore)".[1] Another letter of the same date says: "The king (Aurangzeb) had ordered Dul Patrow and Daud Cawn to remove to Bollegol and Adoni and the Nabob (Zalfikar Khan) to assist Didar Bux coming against Mysore and that the Nabob was preparing to go".[2] Still another letter of June, 1698 mentions, "Nabob camp is in preparation for removing by the kings order, Daud Cawn for Bolligatt, Dulpat raw for Adoni and the Nabob for Mizore (Mysore) to meet Dider Bux".[3] These letters speak of the march of Didar Bakht against Mysore. Before solving the problem of how the Mysore army fought against the Mughals, it is necessary to inquire into the main objective with which Didar Bakht was advancing against Mysore. Shakavali, a Marathi source also called Gadadhar Pralhad says that "Rajaram fleeing with his troops went to the fort of .... upon his heels were sent Didar Bakht and Zalfikar Khan to harass him".[4] In Shakavali the name of the fort is not mentioned but two points are clear namely first that Dedar Bux and Zulfikar Khan were sent against Rajaram and the letters of Fort St.George of June 1698 say that they were advancing against Mysore; secondly, the Shakavali and the letters of Fort. St.George agree in giving the date with a difference of four months. Since Sardesai has placed much

1. Records of Fort St.George; Letters from Fort St.George 1698, Vol.8, p. 73, No.91.
2. Ibid., No.93.
3. Ibid., Diary and Consultation for 1698, p. 68.
4. Shivaji Souvenir, pp.39-40.

reliance on the Shakavali, we may take its date October 1698 as correct one[1]. The natural inference is that Rajaram might have entered the fort of Mysore or some fort nearby in the Mysore country. In order to harass Rajaram, according to Shakavali, Dedar Bakhat and Zulfikar Khan were sent to Mysore. Rajaram's presence at Mysore might have been responsible for Aurangzeb ordering his generals to go over to Mysore. While the Mughal general Zulfikar Khan was on his way to Mysore, the chieftain of Turriore appealed to him for help in order to drive out the Mysoreans from his principality[2]. Thereupon Zulfikar Khan sent out a detachment under Saleem Khan and Ibrahim Khan and directed his military officers to join them. Fort St.George letter of 18 July, 1698, says that "Nabob Zalfikar Cawn has ordered several of the adjacent governors to join Selimon Cawn not knowing what their intentions are".[3] The letter of 23 July 1698 says that "we hear from Chellumbrum, Selimon Cawn and Ebrahim Cawn Gurry are gathering their forces, but their councils are kept so private, yet we cannot understand what their designs are".[4] Another letter of 25 July 1698 explains that "Selimon Cawn and Ebrahim Cawn Gurry and the other forces are marched towards Turriore, a great poligar who made a complaint to Zalfikar Cawn that the Mysore people had taken great part of his country therefore desired his assistance; upon which the Nabob had ordered the forces mentione

1. Ibid., See Introduction to Jedhe Sakavali by Sardesai.
2. Records of Fort St.George, Fort St.David Consultations (1698) p.96, letter of July, 15th.
3. Ibid., p.92.
4. Ibid., p.96.

the 18th instant to go upon their expedition. We hear they are to encamp this night at Pennaram" (in Salem District)[1]. On reaching the appointed destination, there ensued a sanguinary action in which the Mysore army won a brilliant victory over the Mughal contingent. It was this victory over the Mughals that Apratima Vira Charitam frequently mentions[2]. By this battle of Turriore fought in August 1698, the relationship between the Mughal power and Mysore was not strained as it was not an action deliberately directed against the Mughals. Chikkadevaraja was at war with the palegar of Turriore. The latter invited the arms of the Mughals. Zulfikar Khan sent help. Therefore Aurangzeb was not involved in this war of Turriore. A concrete evidence to prove that Chikkadevaraja was on friendly terms with Aurangzeb is his sending of an embassyto the court of Aurangzeb.

Chikkadevaraja deputed Karanika Lingannaiya to the court of Aurangzeb at Ahmadnagar with costly presents. The ambassador met the emperor and offered the presents upon which the emperor made kindly enquiries of the Raja's health and said, "Your king has conquered many enemies and acquired considerable territory and his administration is noted for justice. I am happy particularly because your King had succeeded in killing the two powerful Maratha sardars namely Jaitaji Katkar and Dadaji Kakade. Your king is our friend. We shall be glad to xxx assist you at times of danger".[3] It was a diplomatic move

1. Fort St. David Consultations (1698), p.96.
2. A.V.C., III, V.118, V.130.
3. Annals, I, pp. 142-144; Wilks, I, p.118.

designed to court the friendship of the emperor. The emperor appreciated the action taken by Chikkadevaraja in uprooting the Marathas. The emperor conferred on the king the title "Raja Jagadev" (King of the world) and other insignias". The embassy returned to Srirangapatna in 1700.[1]

The important results of sending the embassy to Aurangzeb were, first, Chikkadevaraja strengthened his relationship with the Mughals; secondly, the Mysore-Mughal friendship served to enhance the power of Chikkadevaraja from the local point of view; thirdly, Mysore rose into prominence and established contact with the biggest power in India namely the Mughals; fourthly, Chikkadevaraja adopted many of the Mughal administrative novelties in his administration and lastly, the way in which the Maratha aggression was discussed by Aurangzeb with the Mysore ambassador made Chikkadevaraja think that his policy of hostility with the Marathas was correct. On the whole Mysore during the rule of Chikkadevaraja emerged into great prominence in the whole of south India by following a policy of friendship with the Mughals and of hostility with the Marathas.

In 1700 Chikkadevaraja was at the height of his power. It was his ambition to be powerful which was accomplished to a great extent. The capture of Gingee by Zulfikar Khan in January 1698 and the consequent difficulties that followed for the Marathas made Chikkadevaraja still more powerful than before.

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1. Ibid., pp. 145-146.

The flight of Rajaram from Gingee to Satara practically removed Chikkadevaraja's main obstacle. He ruled the Mysore kingdom peacefully for four years more (1700-1704). His kingdom stretched its wing as far as Bangalore and parts of Tumkur districts in the north, Hassan and Kadur in the West and north-west; Salem, Baramahal and Coimbatore districts in the east and south. Under Chikkadevaraja Mysore grew into a compact independent kingdom south of the river Tungabhadra.

In Maharashtra Rajaram raised a powerful army and resumed the struggle against the Mughals more vigorously than before. The Mughal army laid siege to the fort of Satara in December 1699 but the Marathas defended the fort ably. It was only after the death of Rajaram on 12 March, 1700 the fort was surrendered. The emperor took the command of the army in person and reduced fort after fort of the Marathas. From 1699 to 1703 Aurangzeb was able to capture four major forts, Satara (21 April 1700), Panhala (28 May 1701), Vishalgad (4 June 1702) and Sinhagad (8 April 1703), in addition to a few minor ones.

Tara Bai, wife of Rajaram, a lady of masterly spirit, took up the administration of Maharashtra into her hand as regent for her minor son, Shivaji III.[1] She was an able woman. She had gained knowledge in civil and military matters during her husband's lifetime. She organised the administration of the State put down the rival parties for the succession to the throne and

1. Ke.N.V., p. 164. Linganna Kavi writes that Tara Bai had two sons, Shivaji and Sambhaji but it is incorrect. Sambhaji was the son of Rajas Bai, another wife of Rajaram.

commenced ravaging the imperial territories. In this Maratha-Mughal struggle, Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar was completely ignored. None paid any attention towards the affairs of Mysore. The last four years of Chikkadevaraja's reign (1700-1704) was a period of peaceful rule. He died on 16 November 1704.[1] His death terminated the Mysore-Maratha hostility for the seventeenth century.

The relations of Chikkadevaraja with Rajaram were far from friendly. Although Rajaram did not come into armed conflict with the Mysore Raja in person, his general Santaji Ghorpade had revived and renewed the traditional policy of hostility towards Mysore. He had done much to spoil the relations of Mysore with the Marathas. The Maratha general swept on from one area to another, caused great loss and confusion to the Mysoreans. Santaj had fought against the Mysore army at Channapatna with a view to capturing the Jagadeva Raval's territory but had been defeated and pursued by the Mysore army. He had devastated the Mysore territories in the northern region of Madura and even occupied Trichinopoly. Santaji was the hero of this period. He had upset every plan and calculation of the Mysoreans by seizing Paramathi, Namakal and Dharmapuri. He had even invaded Mysore and caused incalculabl havocs in 1696. If Santaji and Dhanaji had worked together smoothl the history of the Marathas in the south would have been different. But they had quarrelled over the question of holding the post of Senapati and ignored the interests of the Marathas. Santaji did

1. Annals, I, p. 154; Mys. Dho. Pur., II, p.31; Raja Kathavali, XII, p. 488.

not remain loyal to Rajaram. At a meeting with Rajaram in Gingee, Santaji had charged him with pusillanimity and openly said, "your position is all due to me. I can make and unmake the Chhatrapati". Consequently, Santaji was dismissed from the office. The retirement of Santaji from the Karnatak scene, the attack of the Gingee fort by the Mughal army and the consequent difficulties that followed for the Marathas made Chikkadevaraja attempt the reconquest of all the territories that were lost to the Marathas. On the whole Santaji Ghorpade stood in the way of better relations between the Marathas and the Mysore Raja. Secondly, the Mughals avoided all possibilities of good relationship between the Mysore Raja and the Marathas. The Mughals had followed the Marathas to Gingee and conducted the atrocious wars. Mysore had stood in good stead with the Mughals and exploited the situation of the Maratha-Mughal conflict for its own advantage. Chikkadevaraja's relations with the Mughals were delicate. Chikkadevaraja had followed a cautious policy towards the Mughals and remained a friend to them. The Mughal generals such as Zulfikar Khan, Kam Baksh, Deadar Bux and Khasim Khan had passed through the region of Mysore but never disturbed the Mysore Raja. The Mughal friendship was Chikkadevaraja's added strength. The Mysore Raja and the Mughals were united together to bring about the destruction of the Marathas in the south. Thus the Mughals stood in the way of better relations between the Mysore Raja and the Marathas. Lastly, it was the ambition of Chikkadevaraja to be powerful in the Karnatak that widened the gulf between the Marathas and the Mysorear

The flight of Rajaram from Gingee to Satara and the consequent difficulties that followed for the Marathas made Chikkadevaraja assume the title "Karnataka Chakravarti"(the emperor of the Karnatak). As early as 1677 he had taken the title, "Apratima Vira" (unparalled hero), for having subdued Shivaji in the battle of Srirangapatna. After the departure of the Marathas and the Mughals from the south, he called himself "Tenkana Raya" (Lord of the South).[1] On the whole the atrocious wars of Santaji Ghorpade, the intervention of the Mughals in the affairs of the south and the ambition of the Mysore Raja to become the emperor of the Karnatak did not bring the Mysoreans and the Marathas closer together during the life time of Rajaram.

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1. Mysoru Rajara Charitre, p. 29.

CONCLUSIONS

The seventeenth century was a period of confusion in the Karnatak. Taking advantage of the disintegration of the Vijayanagar empire, a number of enterprising chieftains carved out almost independent principalities in the Karnatak. Raja Wodeyar conquered Srirangapatna in 1610 from the Vijayanagar Viceroy (Tirumala) and built up a kingdom. Mysore grew in power and extent under Chamaraja Wodeyar and Kanthirava Narasaraja. Shahji also participated in the struggle for power in the Karnatak. The stage for Mysore-Maratha relations was set in 1638 when Kanthirava and Shahji came to oppose each other on the soil of Mysore. Shahji came to the Karnatak in one of the expeditions organised by the Bijapur Sultan who was not slow to fish in the troubled sea of the Karnatak politics. To the Sultan these Karnatak expeditions were ~~found~~ practicable and profitable. Ranadulla Khan and Shahji came at the head of the Second Karnatak expedition and occupied Bangalore in 1638. By the influence of Ranadulla Khan Shahji secured the sanction from the Bijapur Sultan for the occupation of Bangalore and its dependencies. Since the Sultan exercised very little or no power over his distant territorial possessions, it is no wonder, if Shahji established almost an independent government with royal splendour at Bangalore. In fact Shahji was independent in all excepting in name. Kanthirava and Shahji strove hard to fill up the political vacuum that was caused by the disintegration of the Vijayanagar empire. As Mysore and Bangalore were not far

away from each other contention was inevitable. Thus the period offered a fine opportunity for the rulers of Mysore and the Marathas to build up their power in the Karnatak.

The seeds of enmity were sown in the treaty of 1639 between Kanthirava and Shahji. There was some justification for Kanthirava to be on inimical terms with Bijapur in general and Shahji in particular. First, Kanthirava who had surrendered his new conquests in the Jagadeva Raya's country namely Channapatna and its dependencies to the Bijapur Sultan was not reconciled to the loss. Secondly, Kanthirava could foresee the deliberate and consistent policy of expansion in the Karnatak sanctioned by the Bijapur Sultan. In the first Karnatak expedition some territorial gains were made in the Bednur kingdom and in the second Karnatak expedition, Sira was made a Bijapur dependency. Bangalore was taken from Kempe Gowda and was entrusted to the care of Shahji. Lastly, Kanthirava was required to pay annual contributions to the Bijapur treasury. Bangalore principality of Shahji proved an obstacle to the expansionist policy of Mysore. Thus the enmity started between the two in 1639.

The sixty-year history (1638-1698) under review in this study of the two powers is nothing but a history of continuous wars, internal conflicts and mutual jealousies. At no time did they live in amity. One's adversity was another's opportunity. The existence of the Maratha principality at Bangalore was

considered by Kanthirava a constant threat to the security of the Mysore kingdom. The more the Karnatak expeditions were organised by the Bijapur Sultan, the better it was for Shahji because every expedition helped him in enlarging his principality by the addition of new territorial conquests in the Karnatak. Shahji invaded Mysore several times either in close concert with the Bijapur generals or in alliance with the Karnatak chieftains. Kanthirava defended his kingdom against these onslaughts effectively. During his stay of twenty-five years (1639-1664) in the Karnatak, Shahji never lived as a peaceful neighbour either with Kanthirava or Doddadevaraja. Ekoji who secured the heritage of his father continued the traditional policy of hostility towards Mysore. The same under-current of hostility and discord continued during the times of Shivaji, Sambhaji and Rajaram towards Chikkadevaraja of Mysore. Thus the history of the Mysore-Maratha relations in the 17th century is nothing but a record by relentless wars and unending rivalries between the two powers.

Shahji, during his stay of twenty-five years in the Karnatak, never lived in amity with Mysore. Several factors were at work in widening the gulf between the rulers of Mysore and Shahji. Chief among them were the frequent Karnatak expeditions organised by the Bijapur Sultan, the role of the local chieftains, the ambition of the two powers (the Rajas of Mysore and the Marathas) and the delicate position of Sriranga Raya in the political set up of the 17th century. It was the Bijapur Sultan's Karnatak

expedition that brought Shahji to Bangalore and the same frequent expeditions that poisoned his relations with Mysore. Eight major Karnatak expeditions were launched by the Sultan and Shahji participated in all these. By the four Karnatak expeditions beginning from 1638 Bijapur acquired several important territories such as Bangalore, Hoskote, Sira, Doddaballapur, Kolar, Turuvekere and Basavapatna and entrusted them to the care of Shahji. The circumstances in which he was placed did not allow him to evolve a policy of his own. The object of these expeditions was to conquer Srirangapatna. Shahji, being a subordinate officer of the Bijapur Government, was required to fight against Mysore at the instance of the Sultan. Consequently, he was expected to cooperate with those Bijapur generals who were at the head of the expeditions. As the relations between Bijapur and Mysore were not cordial, Shahji's relations with Mysore were bound to be hostile as well. Even Ekoji who inherited the heritage of his father, Shahji, in 1664 was required to act according to the orders of the Bijapur Government. Thus the expansionist policy of Bijapur stood in the way of better relations between Mysore and the Marathas.

Incidentally it may be remarked that Shahji was active in the arnatak. It is difficult to agree with J.N.Sarkar when he says that Shahji remained an idle and unconcerned spectator during the period between 1644 and 1646. The Kannada sources point to the conclusion that Shahji's life was full of political activities during that period. Consequent upon the expulsion of Afzal Khan

from Turuvekere, Shahji missed no time to ally himself with some Karnatak chieftains to defeat the designs of Kanthirava. In the war of 1644 Shahji supported Narasimha Nayak of Hole-narasipur against Mysore. In the subsequent year he helped with men and materials Nanjunda Raja of Piriyapatna who was involved in a terrible war with Kanthirava of Mysore. Shahji's attempt to subdue Kanthirava failed. Shahji practically had no rest because in 1646 another Karnatak expedition was fitted out by the Bijapur Sultan under the generalship of Mustafa Khan and Shahji was required to help Mustafa Khan in discharging his duties. Thus Shahji was very busy during the period between 1644 and 1646.

The personal rivalries and territorial aggrandisement of the local chieftains stood in the way of improving the relations of Mysore with the Marathas. The Chieftains of Nagamangala, Basavapatna, Rayadurga, Chikkanayakanahalli, the Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Bednur worked for their own advantage. They were either incompetent or unimaginative. Channiya was responsible for the Bijapur intervention in the affairs of Mysore as also for the fight between Kanthirava and Shahji in 1638. Hanumappa brought about the Karnatak expedition in 1640 and provided the ground for the war between Mysore and Shahji. Three powers could distinctly be seen fighting for power in the Karnatak, namely, the Marathas, the Kings of Mysore and the Nayaks of Bednur. Each one did its best to put down the other. The Nayaks of Bednur helped the Marathas to defeat the Mysore Rajas. The Nayaks

rendered them help for two reasons, firstly, the Mysore rulers were their enemies and their reduction was an urgent necessity, secondly, they feared that their refusal to comply with the Maratha request might result in their invasion of Bednur. Thus the local palegars poisoned the relations of the Mysore Rajas with the Marathas.

The Mysore Rajas and the Marathas were both ambitious. How ambitious Shahji was, could be seen in his effort to make use of Ranadulla Khan as a convenient means to secure for himself the sanction for the occupation of Bangalore and its dependencies from the Bijapur Sultan. He established almost an independent Maratha principality with royal splendour at Bangalore. The key-note of his policy was conquest and consolidation of territories. He fought several battles with Mysore for territories. Towards the end of 1660 he had not only gained the control of the Karnatak-Bijapur-Balaghat but the Karnatak-Bijapur-Payanghat as well. Kanthirava was also ambitious. Kanthirava had succeeded to a well knit kingdom, built up and nurtured by Raja Wodeyar and Chamaraja Wodeyar and he elevated it into a powerful kingdom with its frontiers enlarged and natural resources increased and brought it into contact with Shahi kingdom of Bijapur. In the race for territories they came to oppose each other and in consequence they never lived in amity.

Shahji was a good diplomat and a farsighted politician.

He exerted his utmost to build up and retain Maratha control over Bangalore against the opposition of Mysore. He shifted a number of Maratha families from Maharashtra to Bangalore and selected talented Marathas to govern the Karnatak territories under his control. But he could not remain indifferent to the Bijapur Sultan. To show that he was loyal to Bijapur, he continued paying the stipulated amount to the Bijapur treasury. And as per the orders of the Sultan, he exploited every opportunity to put down the kings of Mysore in alliance with those that opposed Mysore. On the whole the policy pursued by Shahji excited the jealousy of the kings of Mysore and in turn they too adopted rigorous measures to arrest the Maratha expansion in the Karnatak.

Sriranga Raya, the last emperor of the decadent Vijayanagar empire, prevented the possibility of better relations between Mysore and the Marathas. He followed no consistent policy either with Mysore or with the Marathas. This was because he was desperately struggling to retrieve the past glory of the declining Vijayanagar empire and in his attempt he thought that any of these powers might help him. But to his ill-luck his own feudatory was his enemy. Kanthirava did not help Sriranga Raya in the war of 1646. Shahji was ready to support the emperor in his distress but was betrayed. But for Shahji the reconciliation between Mustafa Khan and Venkaiya Somayaji, the envoy of Sriranga Raya would have been impossible. By the bad counsel of the envoy, Sriranga Raya turned down the mediation of Shahji and went to war against the Bijapuris. After 1646 his position became still worse. The three Nayaks of Madura,

Tanjore and Gingee, once the Vassals of the crown, drove Sriranga Raya out of Vellore and made him seek shelter in the forest of Tanjore. Sriranga Raya appealed to Kanthirava and the latter accommodated the emperor in Mysore for two years (1650-1652). Sriranga Raya and Kanthirava allied with the Nawab of Sira and invaded Jagadeva Raya's territory which was under Shahji's control. Shahji was offended for three reasons, first, he had been betrayed by Sriranga Raya in the war of 1646, secondly, the emperor joined Kanthirava and lastly, the three potentates, Sriranga Raya, Kanthirava and the Nawab of Sira encroached upon his zone of influence in Jagadeva Raya's territory. In two battles that ensued the three potentates were crushed. In 1657 Sriranga Raya befriended Shahji, in 1659 he was a helpless fugitive at the court of Bednur being driven from pillar to post and in the famous battle of Erode of 1667 Sriranga Raya fought against Mysore in alliance with several Maratha generals such as Vedoji Pant and Anantoji. Thus Sriranga Raya followed no consistent policy, with the result the relations between Mysore and the Marathas were ~~not brought closer together~~ further estranged.

Shahji's fame has been overshadowed by that of his son, Shivaji. It is true that Shivaji had created an enduring edifice of a kingdom as big as Great Britain. He was a great general and a conqueror but greater still as the founder of the Maharashtra State. But the achievements of his father in the Karnatak could not be minimised. His career in the Karnatak was

one of struggle and stress. He struggled hard because it was his intention to build up an independent Maratha principality in the Karnatak. He, therefore, first played an important role in the conquest of various petty principalities of the Karnatak for Bijapur. Out of these conquests, he gradually built up a fairly big state for himself under the authority of his overlord at Bijapur. He longed to make it his own in case of relaxation of Bijapur control. He had evolved a separate civil administration and military establishment. "Gouri Mahal" was his palace and Nandi was his summer resort. When not engaged in military expeditions Kolar and Doddaballapur were his popular capitals. He controlled four principalities, Bangalore, Poona, Jagadeva Raya's territory and Kanakagiri. A number of Marathas such as Vedoji, Anantoji, Raghav Pandit, Ekoji, Sambhaji and others were working under his control at different places of the Karnatak. When he paid a visit to Poona in 1662, he was in a position to give his son, Shivaji, a good deal of useful information on matters relating to peace and war. The effects of Shahji's work in Bangalore could be seen even today after centuries of change, in the existence of several Maratha vestiges and families. Thus Shahji founded a Maratha state in the Karnatak before Shivaji thought of a Maharashtr state. Shahji was a powerful Maratha chieftain who had managed his affairs with so much of prudence as to have established himself in Bangalore against the opposition of Mysore. With such a man of high calibre and ability, the relations of Mysore would not be easy.

Under Ekoji the relations of Mysore with the Marathas were

not improved. Having inherited a well-filled treasury and a compact Maratha principality from his father, Ekoji grew indifferent to the declining Bijapur State and worked to make himself great in the Karnatak. An important achievement of Ekoji was his conquest of Tanjore in 1675. He did not retain his new conquest as a part of Bangalore principality. On the other hand, he shifted the capital from Bangalore to Tanjore. This was an unwise policy. The fatal consequences of such a policy were first, it dealt a death-blow to the Maratha interest in Bangalore, secondly it loosened the control of Bijapur over the Karnatak territories and lastly, it removed the main obstacle in the way of Mysore expansion in the north. To rescue the Karnatak territories the Bijapur Sultan appointed Jahangir Khan and Hussain Khan but Chikkadevaraja removed the Bijapur generals and occupied important places like Ketasamudra, Kandikere, Handalagere, Gulur, Tumkur, Hannavalli and Bommasamudra. The Bijapur control grew weak. Kolar and Doddaballapur became independent. Chikkadevaraja was active to undo the work of Bijapur and to destroy the Marathas in the Karnatak. The pressure of Mysore was such that Ekoji was unable to retain Bangalore any longer. He decided to sell it to the highest bidder in 1687. Chikkadevaraja was about to purchase it for 3 lakhs of rupees but then Khasim Khan, the Mughal general came and occupied Bangalore. Tl amount went to Khasim Khan instead of going to Tanjore treasury. On the whole Ekoji's wars with Doddadevaraja and Chikkadevaraja and his disposal of Bangalore did not create a favourable atmosphere for the two powers to live in amity.

The hostile relationship between the Mysoreans and the Marathas did not improve even during the life time of Shivaji. No one was keen on improving his relations with the other, with the result the under-current of hostility and contradiction jealous continued unabated between the two powers. Even before Shivaji came into armed conflict with Chikkadevaraja in 1677, he was in know of the developments in Mysore. As a boy, he knew the Mysore-Maratha rivalry. He visited Bangalore in 1640 along with his mother and tutor and stayed at his father's Maratha court for two years during his most impressionable years of precocious boyhood. The Bangalore Maratha court, his father's intense political activities in the Karnatak, his constant frictions with the Karnatak chieftains, especially with the Raja of Mysore, Nandi, the popular Maratha summer resort, Kolar and Doddaballapur, the attractive Maratha capitals, all wielded a great influence on young Shivaji. It was in Bangalore his mind was shaped and his visions were broadened. It was also in Bangalore his first marriage was celebrated with due pomp and eclat. Although he knew the nature of relationship between Mysore and Shahji, he did not take any active part in Mysore-Maratha wars before 1677 and therefore we do not find any reference to this point in the contemporary Kannada sources.

Shivaji's Karnatak expedition of 1677 is an important land mark in the history of the Mysore-Maratha relations. Of course in the general history of the Marathas, it may appear as

a passing episode but viewed from the angle of Mysore history, it is an event of great significance. Shivaji undertook the Karnatak expedition in order to make his position strong politically and militarily. There were certain reasons for Shivaji's invasion of Mysore. Shivaji was offended by Chikkadevaraja's territorial aggression. Chikkadevaraja seized Maratha territories because there was no proper Maratha control over those territories. Ekoji followed a very weak policy in transferring the Maratha capital from Bangalore to Tanjore. This facilitated Chikkadevaraja's task of conquering the Maratha territories around Bangalore easy. Moreover, Shivaji had spent a large amount of money on new fortifications which he had secured from the Gingee principality. Money was an urgent necessity. Mysore was a land of gold and hidden treasures. Shivaji thought that the loss in the Gingee principalit could conveniently be made good by launching an expedition to Mysore Gold and land lured him to action. The key-note of his policy was conquest and consolidation of territories. The Kannada sources, literary and epigraphic, are unanimous in stating that Shivaji suffered discomfiture at the hands of Chikkadevaraja in the battle of Srirangapatna and that having subdued such a great Maratha leader Chikkadevaraja assumed the title, "Apratima Vira" (unparalleled hero Chikkadevaraja prevented the Marathas from making a permanent conquest in the kingdom of Mysore, with the result the differences betwee the Mysoreans and the Marathas were further widened during the life time of Shivaji.

Several factors widened the gulf between the two powers. Chief among them were the ambition of Shivaji, the role of the local palegars and the ability of the Mysore Raja. Shivaji was an ambitious person. How ambitious he was, could be seen in his conversation with the Sultan of Golkonda. According to the Fairi Bakhar, one of the Marathi sources, Shivaji told the Sultan of Golkonda that he would conquer the whole of India if he were to secure the help of Bijapur and Golkonda. His ambition for gold and land prevented all possibilities of good relationship between the Mysoreans and the Marathas. The local palegars were the disturbing factors in their relations. The chieftains of Morasu, Tigula, Areva, Kodaga and Malevar regions were either incompetent or unimaginative. Having suffered at the hands of Chikkadevaraja, these chieftains allied themselves with Shivaji and facilitated his task of robbing Srirangapatna easy. They helped him with men and materials thinking that their position would be improved. But their position went from bad to worse with the defeat of Shivaji by Chikkadevaraja. Thus the local palegars contributed to widen the gulf between the two powers. Chikkadevaraja was an able ruler. He was strong in mind and bold in action. Unlike the Mysore Rajas of the 18th century, Chikkadevaraja led the army in person and conducted the military operations. He was an expert in night attacks. He had enough ability to surprise the enemies and enough dashing qualities to exploit the weakness of his opponents. Chikkadevaraja was contesting for power. Similarly the Marathas were also contesting for power in the south. Consequently, the

relations between the two powers were strained greatly.

Shivaji marched and conquered Kolar, Doddaballapur, Chikkaballapur, Sira in the Karnatak and left them to the charge of the Rango Narayan and Manoji More. In the light of these acquisitions and several other conquests made in the north Karnatak it is difficult to agree with J.N.Sarkar's view that Shivaji conquered "No man's land" in the Karnatak during the course of his return journey from the Coleroon. The Kannada inscriptions found in Kolar and Doddaballapur speak of several Karnatak chieftains ruling over those territories.

During the time of Sambhaji also the relations of Mysore with the Marathas did not improve. Chikkadevaraja lived long enoug to witness the falling fortunes of the Marathas in the Karnatak. Sambhaji knew this Mysore-Maratha rivalry. Before he came to power in 1680, he had acted as the Governor of Karnatak territories and gained sufficient knowledge of the Karnatak politics. He sent in 1(Harji Mahadik from Maharashtra to control and regulate the Maratha territories in the Karnatak as also to check the progress of Chikkadevaraja in the south. Anyway three distinct factors could be seen working to widen the gulf between the two powers. They were the expansionist policy of Chikkadevaraja, the Mughal intervention and the role of Harji Mahadik. Chikkadevaraja was an ambitious ruler and his policy was the extension of Mysore kingdom towards the north and the south. The confusion that followed the death of Shivaji was an occasion for Chikkadevaraja to start his aggressive

policy. He extended his zone of influence upto Sira. As a counter measure, Harji Mahadik with the help of Dadaji and Jaitaji went and laid siege to Dharmapuri in Salem District. The Mysore army marched to the scene of action and raised the siege. The occupation of some territories in Madura and of Banavara and other Maratha places around Bangalore by Chikkadevaraja avoided all possibilities of better relations between the two powers. Secondly, the Mughals began intervening in the affairs of the Karnatak from 1680. Dilir Khan, a Mughal general invaded the Karnatak but was beaten off by Sambhaji at Nandi in 1680. Aurangzeb descended to the Deccan to uproot the Marathas. Chikkadevaraja joined Aurangzeb against the Marathas. The Mysore-Mughal understanding was a serious threat to the Marathas. Chikkadevaraja had two objectives in view. First, he desired to destroy Bijapur which was responsible for the establishment of the Marathas in the Karnatak. Secondly, it was his intention to destroy the Marathas. To realise these objectives he joined Aurangzeb. The opportunity to reduce Bijapur came in 1686. Chikkadevaraja supported Aurangzeb and in token of his alliance sent a part of his army to join the Mughals. Bijapur fell in September 1686. This awakened the Marathas. Sambhaji launched forth his Karnatak expedition the same year. From 1686 the Mughals intensified their activities in greater part of the Karnatak. Khasim Khan, Zulfikar Khan, Daud Khan and Deadar Bux were active creating trouble for the Marathas.

Was Chikkadevaraja sincere in his alliance with Aurangzeb? He was not sincere with Aurangzeb. He courted Mughal friendship in order to promote his own interests. He knew both the Mughals and the Marathas were dangerous enemies. It was not his desire to depose the Marathas and accommodate the Mughals in Mysore. He wished to be friendly with the Mughals because they were the only strong power in the south with whose support he could create awe in the minds of the Marathas in Mysore. The establishment of the Maratha court at Bangalore, their steady progress in the Karnatak, their subjugation of the petty palegars and their constant threat drove Chikkadevaraja to make friendship with Aurangzeb. The sending of an embassy to the Mughal court was a significant event in the life of Chikkadevaraja. Aurangzeb was glad to know from the ambassador that Maratha aggression was checked by the Mysore ruler. On the whole it was a diplomatic move designed by Chikkadevaraja to secure the friendship of Aurangzeb in order to keep the Marathas at bay. Had the Marathas lived in amity with Mysore, Chikkadevaraja would have cared the Mughals very little.

Of all the Maratha generals such as Vedoji Pant, Anantoji, Raghav Pandit, Ekoji, Sambhaji, Santaji, Dadaji Kadade, Jaitaji Katkar and Nimbalkar it was Harji who played an important role in the Karnatak and contributed to widen the gulf between Mysore and the Marathas. He was an able and resourceful general. He fought against Mysore and missed no opportunity to extend his zone of

influence and increase his prestige as the foremost Maratha general in the Karnatak. Harji's war against Mysore at Trichinopoly in 1682, his sending of the Maratha generals such as Dadaji, Jaitaji Katkar and Nimbalkar to reduee Mysore, his defeat of Kumaraiyya, the Mysore Dalvoy at Trichinopoly, his support to Sambhaji in Mysore wars of 1682 and 1686 and his efforts to check the progress of the Mysoreans and the Mughals in the Karnatak elevate him to the rank of the foremost Maratha generals in the Karanatak. On the whole the territorial aggrandisement of the Maratha general led to the clash of interests with Mysore, with the result Mysore never lived on friendly terms with the Marathas. Thus the expansionist policy of Chikkadevaraja, the Mughal intervention and Harji's disturbance in the Karnatak did not bring Mysore and the Marathas closer together under Sambhaji.

The traditional policy of hostility continued between the two powers during the life time of Rajaram. Although Rajaram never waged a single battle against the Mysore Raja, his generals such as Dhanaji and Santaji Ghorpade contributed enough to poison the relations of Mysore with the Marathas. They moved from one place to another causing great disturbance in the Mysore kingdom. If Harji Mahadik could be regarded as an able Maratha general in the south during the time of Sambhaji, Santaji Ghorpade too could be considered as the protector of the Maratha interests in the south during the time of Rajaram. Santaji was the hero of this time. He had resisted the Mughals at Bednur. He had

showed remarkable military skill in the battle of Channapatna against the Mysore army. Being defeated by Chikkadevaraja, he had changed the theatre of war to the northern region of Madura where the Mysore interest was predominant. He had seized the Mysore territories and even occupied Trichinopoly, a disputed place between Mysore and Madura. He had also participated in the last Mysore-Maratha war of 1696, put up a stout resistence against the Mysore army and had been overwhelmed. He had never attempted to narrow down the differences and to live in amity with Mysore. He was an ambitious general and it was his ambition that was responsible for the unending rivalry between the Marathas and the Mysoreans. His dazzling military career in the south came to an end in October 1696 when he quarrelled with Rajaram over the question of holding the post of Senapati. His death in 1697 was a severe blow to the Maratha fortunes in the south.

The second factor that widened the gulf between the Mysore Raja and the Marathas was the Mughal activities. The Mughals intensified their activities in the south when Rajaram took flight from Panhala to Gingee. The Mughal generals such as Khasim Khan, Zulfikar Khan, Deadar Bux and Kam Baksha invaded the south in order to exterminate the Marathas. The Maratha-Mughal rivalry wielded a great influence on the Mysore-Maratha relations. The Marathas did not reconcile to the Mysore-Mughal contact. Mysore could not think of defeating the Marathas without the Mughal support because they were the only strong power

in the south. Chikkadevaraja was a clever ruler. He knew that both the Mughals and the Marathas were his dangerous enemies. It was not his intention to reduce the Marathas with a view to accommodating the Mughals in the south. His object was to promote his own interests. In order to realise his ambition, he was prepared to help any one who would assist him. If the Marathas had adjusted their relations with Mysore, Chikkadevaraja would have cared the Mughals very little. The existence of the Maratha kingdom and the Maratha policy of expansion in the south drove Chikkadevaraja to make friendship with Aurangzeb. When Rajaram and his followers came to the south and established the Maratha Government at Gingee with separate civil and military establishments, Chikkadevaraja strengthened his relationship with the Mughals, further by sending an embassy to the Mughal court. On the whole the Mughals stood in the way of better relations between the Mysore Raja and the Marathas. The withdrawal of Rajaram and his followers from Gingee and the consequent difficulties that followed for the Marathas had practically brought to a close the unhappy relationship between the two powers during the 17th century.

On the whole the relations of Mysore with the Marathas under Shahji, Shivaji, Sambhaji and Rajaram were not friendly. In the face of the vigorous resistance put up by the Mysore Rajas, the Marathas were not able to subjugate Mysore. The loss of Bangalore in 1687 was a terrible blow to the Maratha interest in

the South. The Maratha power declined towards the end of the 17th century in the Karnatak. This was because of the abilities of the Mysore Rajas. Kanthirava, Doddadevaraja and Chikkadevaraja toiled with great ambition and imperious will and with the most delicate diplomacy and intrigues. They were all great generals, personally led the army to the battle field and conducted military operations. They enlarged Mysore, raised its power to a high pitch and brought it into contact with such big powers as Bijapur and the Mughals. It was difficult for the Marathas to reduce such men of high calibre and establish their rule over Mysore. The notable point in the Mysore-Maratha relations was the keen contest for power and the ambition to fill up the political gap that was caused by the disappearance of central authority in South India. On the whole the Mysore-Maratha relations had never been friendly throughout the 17th century as revealed in the Kannada sources.

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APPENDIX 1

Sambhaji in Mysore (1647-1654)

Several inscriptions found in Mysore State particularly in Chikkaballapura, Doddballapura, Kolar and other places speak of the activities of Sambhaji, the Maratha. These inscriptions range from 1637 to 1680. There are five prominent Marathas having the same name, Sambhaji. Sambhaji was the name given to the eldest son of Shahji, the eldest brother of Shivaji the great. The name of the latter's eldest son was also Sambhaji. Another man from Kolhapur bore the same name; Shahji's brother-in-law (second wife's brother) was called Sambhaji Mohite; and one of Shivaji's officers was also called Sambhaji

Of these five personalities that figure mostly in Maratha history, who was the man that played a significant part in the politics of Mysore is to be decided satisfactorily. Sambhaji Kaviji does not engage our attention as he cannot be the likely ruler alluded to in the inscription; and above all he does not seem to have been vested with any sovereign powers as the person under review. Sambhaji of Kolhapur does not come on the scene as he was born after the 17th century (i.e. A.D. 1712 - 1760). The other Sambhajis that are left here are the sons of Shahji and Shivaji and the brother-in-law of Shahji, with whom we are more concerned, as they had indisputable connection with the history of Mysore.

We know clearly that Shahji was sent by the Sultan of

Bijapur with Ranadulla Khan in order to effect the conquest of Mysore; and after the successful termination of the campaign, Shahji was granted Jagir in Mysore comprising of Bangalore, Dodda-ballapura, Sira and other places as a mark of his selfless service. Since 1639, Shahji had been residing at Bangalore which in course of time developed into a historical city of great importance.

Shahji had two sons by his first wife Jija Bai, named Sambhaji and Shivaji. Sambhaji was born in A.D. 1619.[1] It is generally accepted that Sambhaji had lost his life in an attack on Kanakagiri in A.D. 1654.[2]

Sambhaji had been of great help to Shahji for he used to assist him in the administration. That Sambhaji came to light as assisting his father in Mysore at least from 1647 onwards can evidently be proved. Several inscriptions found in Mysore bear testimony to this fact. An inscription discovered at Hancarahalli, Doddaballapura Taluk, dated Wednesday, 3 March 1647 states that "Sambhaji Raya granted Ganna Basappa Vader (Wodeyar) of the Sajji Matha (people's matha,) the Hancipura village".[3] From this it is clear that he was ruling over Doddaballapura as the Governor; and to occupy this post he was sufficiently aged (28 years). It is

1. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol. I, p. 41.
2. Ibid., p. 81.
3. E.C. IX, D.B. 28, p. 64, text p.78: Srimatu Vyaya Samvatsarada phalguna sudda 7 Ma. llu - Saji matha Sambhaji Rayanu Canna Basapa-Vaderige kota Hancipura Vidake.

to be noted that he was simply addressed as Sambhaji without giving any honorific title which was common among the several royal famililies of the age (Raya and so on). From this it can be inferred that he was acting only as the representative of his father Shahji and till this year he was not granted any specific royal title. In 1650 a charitable grant was issued by Sambhaji in the district of Bangalore.[1] But in the year 1653 there appears to have been a change in the official status of the prince Sambhaji. He had assumed so many titles. The inscription found in the Kondipalli village, Mulbagal taluk, Mysore State, dated 1653 says that "the rajadhiraja rajaraja Sambhaji Raja Maharaja's son Kannarayaji Pandita ..... buying Kondiganahalli, granted it to ....svati as a kattu-godagi".[2] Now Sambhaji was invested with almost full royal titles like Rajadhiraja, Raja raja, Maharaja. Further he had a son named Kannarayaji Pandita.

Why Sambhaji was granted these titles in A.D. 1653 needs inquiry. Though we have not got direct evidence on this point, yet we can make out the reasons for honouring Sambhaji with such royal titles. Firstly, he was entrusted with the tremendous responsibilities of administering several districts in the Jagirs of his father and above all he was expected to lead an expedition

1. Wilks: History of Mysore, Vol.I, p. 92.
2. E.C.X. Mb 154, p. 111, text, p. 132: Vijaya - Samvatsara kartika bahula 11 lu srimad - rajadhiraja - raja - raja - sri Sambhaji raja - maharajara kumara kannarayaji - pandita Saka varusha - dana dharma .....diganahalli vraya kondu ...vastige kotta kattu kodagi.

into Kanakagiri[1] in the subsequent year against Appa Khan, its chieftain. Spirited Sambhaji was further exalted with these royal titles to equip him for the task.

The Maratha records agree in stating that Appa Khan, the chieftain of Kanakagiri unfurled the standard of revolt and cast a covetous eye on Doddaballapura, a part and parcel of Shahji's Jagir. In order to punish this refractory chieftain, Sambhaji was deputed. In the encounter that followed Sambhaji was killed due to deliberate negligence on the part of Afzal Khan to reinforce the prince at a critical juncture. This campaign took place in 1654.[2] It was this failure that drove Shahji to reconquer Kanakagiri three or four years later. A reference is made by Shahji in his letter dated 6 July, 1657 to the Sultan of Bijapur.

> "Your majesty, I had been deputed to the expedition against Kanakagiri and having carried out the mission successfully, was duly rewarded .... I also conquered for your State the districts of Anegondi and Kanakagiri".[3]

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1. Kanakagiri has been known as a tirtha from the 10th century. See E.C. III, Ml.30, p.59. For its prominence in A.D. 1355, 1422 and 1492 see E.C. IV(1) Ch.153, p.20, Ch.150, p. 20, and Ch.160, p. 21 respectively.
2. Takakhav: Life of Shivaji Maharaj. pp.50-51; Grant Duff: History of the Maharattas, Vol.I, pp. 146-147; Kincaid & Parasnis A.H.M.P., p.31; Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, p.81 places the event in the subsequent year(1654). The latter authority is preferred J.N.Sarkar: Shivaji & His Times (3rd ed) p.38, places the event in 1649.
3. Shivaji Souvenir, p. 138.

On the basis of this letter, R.N.Salatore writes that there was a second expedition against the chieftain of Kanakagiri which was led by Shahji in person either in 1656 or in the early part of A.D. 1657.[1] How Shahji was honoured for having conquered Kanakagiri is not known to us. On the whole it is evident that Kanakagiri did not remain a part and parcel of Shahji Jagir; on the contrary it was annexed to the kingdom of Bijapur.

The Kondipalli inscription issued in the year 1653 does not mention the death of Sambhaji, which would have been certainly mentioned, had the event taken place in that year. Therefore it can easily be inferred that the epigraph was issued prior to the alleged fatality.

Sardesai says that Sambhaji lost his life in an attack on Kanakagiri in 1654.[2]

Further an epigraph found at Muduvadi on a shrine near the sluice of Mallasandra tank in the Kolar taluk, Mysore State, dated 20 October 1654 states that "the Rajadhiraja rajamanya raja sri Sambhaji Raya Maharajarayya's agent for the border district of Kolala sime, Kanayaja pant and others, on the Komatis of Kolala, abounding it, giving it, gave to Candara Tambarahalli Depa Gauda, land under the Muduvadi Mallasamudram tank with sasana for constructing it".[3]

1. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol.13, 1939, p. 58.
2. N.H.M., Vol.I, p. 81.
3. E.C. X, Kl.193, p. 60, text, p.68: Jayasamvatsara da asvija ba 5 Bra - lu - srimad rajadhiraja rajamanya rajasri Sambhoji Raja Maharaja raiyanavara Kar (yakartha) ru ... Kolala sime sarahada-lada Kanayaja pantaru modaladavaru Kolada Komati.

From this account we can make out that the authority of the Marathas was fully established over the Kolar district. Secondly, Sambhaji is not said to have issued the grant to Depa Gauda; on the contrary his agent figured prominently and is said to have been the chief grantor of the plot of land. If Sambhaji was really alive, as was the practice, there was no necessity to issue the grant in the name of his agent. Therefore it is clear that Sambhaji was dead by this time. It is also incorrect to assume that Sambhaji was alive as far as 1663.[1]

R.N.Salatore says that "one of the epigraphs which specifically refers to Sambhaji as living for instance, in A.D. 1660 is one found at Gottehalli, Kolar taluk, Mysore State".

The author of the article has completely mistaken this Sambhaji, mentioned in the inscription of 1660. He was altogether

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1. R.N.Salatore writing in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras Vol.13, 1939, p. 60 argues that if Sambhaji were not alive at that time, his successor's name should have been mentioned in the inscription. Relying on this particular point, he rejects the theory of the death of Sambhaji in the siege of Kanakagiri as unhistorical. He again says "The acceptance of his demise in this year is based almost entirely of Maratha Chroniclers none of whose accounts were contemporary in the sense in which the inscriptions can be said to be contemporary. There is no Maratha chronicle which written in the last days of Sambhaji or his father or even of Sivaji, specifies in the clearest terms Sambhaji perished in the onslaught against Kanakagiri; nor is there any account, either of an eye-witness, Hindu or Muslim, or even a foreign traveller, to corroborate the statement. The only historian of note who set this down as an accepted fact was Grant Duff, but the exact sources of information are neither accessible or known to us. The kanarese epigraphs, on the other hand, not only do they not refer to his death but speak of him as actually alive up to 1663 A.D.".

different from the one mentioned already. Sambhaji of 1660 inscription was the brother-in-law of Shahji as his sister Tuka Bai was married to him. How this Sambbhaji came to Mysore.

Sardesai says:

> "Supa ..... not far from Poona was held by a rather uncongenial neighbour, Sambhaji Mohite, a staunch loyalist of Bijapur and in addition an unfriendly relation of Shivaji, as his sister Tuka Bai was the second wife of Shahji. Sambhaji Mohite, a hereditary noble of Bijapur, would not be persuaded to join Shivaji's movement nor enter his service .... one dark night Shivaji .... made a sudden raid upon Supa, surprised Sambhaji .... and persuaded him to join his movement, but the proud man would not yield, Shivaji sent him under proper escort to his father at Bangalore.[1]"

This event took place in 1652.[2] After the death of Sambhaji at Kanakagiri in 1654, this Sambhaji Mohite was appointed to the Governorship of Kolar. It may be argued that Mohite is not mentioned in the inscription to consider that he is different from the former. To this objection it may be said that the Karnataka people were not in the habit of calling their governors by their family name or it is likely they may not know the epithet 'Mohite'.

1. N.H.M., Vol.1, pp.103-104.
2. Ibid., p. 104.

They used to call him Sambhaji.

Therefore Sambhaji was placed to govern Kolar district. Let us see what the inscription of 1660 says. It says that "Sambhaji Raja granted land to Antraji Pandita of Akaladaraa in Sugatur hobali".[1]

By making a comparative study of the two epigraphs it is possible to find out the approximate date, if not the exact date, of the appointment of Sambhaji to the governorship of Kolar. In the inscription of 1654 Sambhaji's agent is mentioned to have been the chief grantor of the land and in the inscription of 1660 Sambhaji is mentioned as the grantor of the land. Therefore it is probable that Sambhaji was sent to rule Kolar about A.D.1657. Another point we will have to note in this inscription 1660 is that honorific titles like rajadhiraja, raja Maharaja that were conferred upon Sambhaji, the son of Shahji, were not given to this Sambhaji. He is simply addressed as Sambhaji Rajaravaru. Therefore this Sambhaji must have been different, otherwise all the other titles would have been repeated in the inscription if he were to be the same man. The word "Rajaravaru" also implies the royal position accorded to him most likely by Shahji who was at Bangalore and also great regard and respect that the people of Kolar showed to him.

1. E.C. X, Kl 176, p. 57, text, p.64: sarvari samvatsarada Asvija suddha 12 lu srimatu Samboji Rajaravaru Sugaturu hobaliya Akaladarasaya Antaraji panditaru vritt vandu Samba Sasana.

It is very interesting to note that Sambhaji, in course of time, assumed all titles.

An epigraph found at Holour hobli, Kolar taluk, dated Friday, 1 May 1663 says that

> "the rajadhiraja rajashri Sambhaji Raja Saheb gave to Alambigiri Tippi Setti and Varanasi Cenne Gauda a kodige sasana".[1]

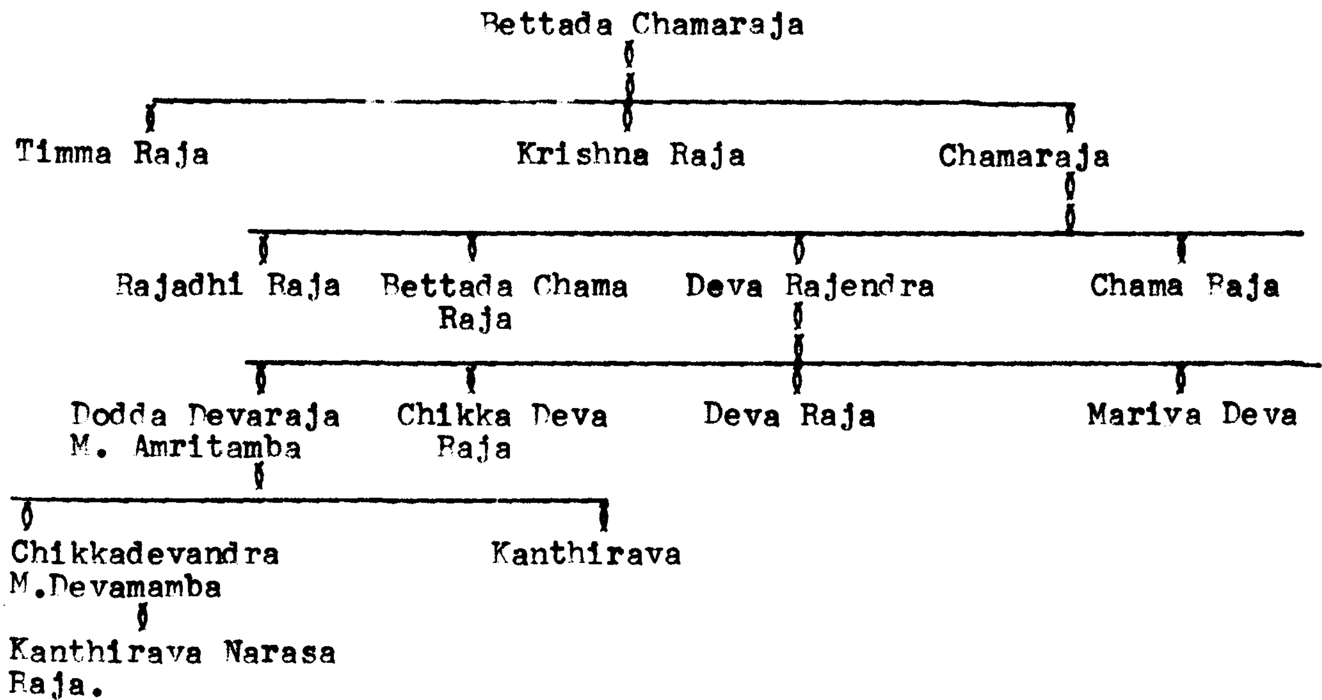
Now it can no longer be disputed that Sambhaji had permanently established his rule over Kolar and assumed all the other titles befitting ~~to~~ his royal position. Further he was graced with the honorific 'Sahebaru' which was denied to Sambhaji, the son of Shahji. Moreover he seems to have assumed grandeur in the administration of his district.

Sambhaji seems to have died in 1663 for no inscription bearing his name has been discovered as having been issued after 1663. The death of Sambhaji in 1663 and his brother-in-law Shahji in 1664[2] induced most of the districts in the Karnatak to throw off the rule of the Marathas and assert their independence. Such a move on the part of several districts must have taken fairly a long time because Shivaji had commenced the reconquest of these Karnatak possessions 14 years later. Thus Bijapur territories in Karnataka came to be ruled by Sambhaji and his successor.

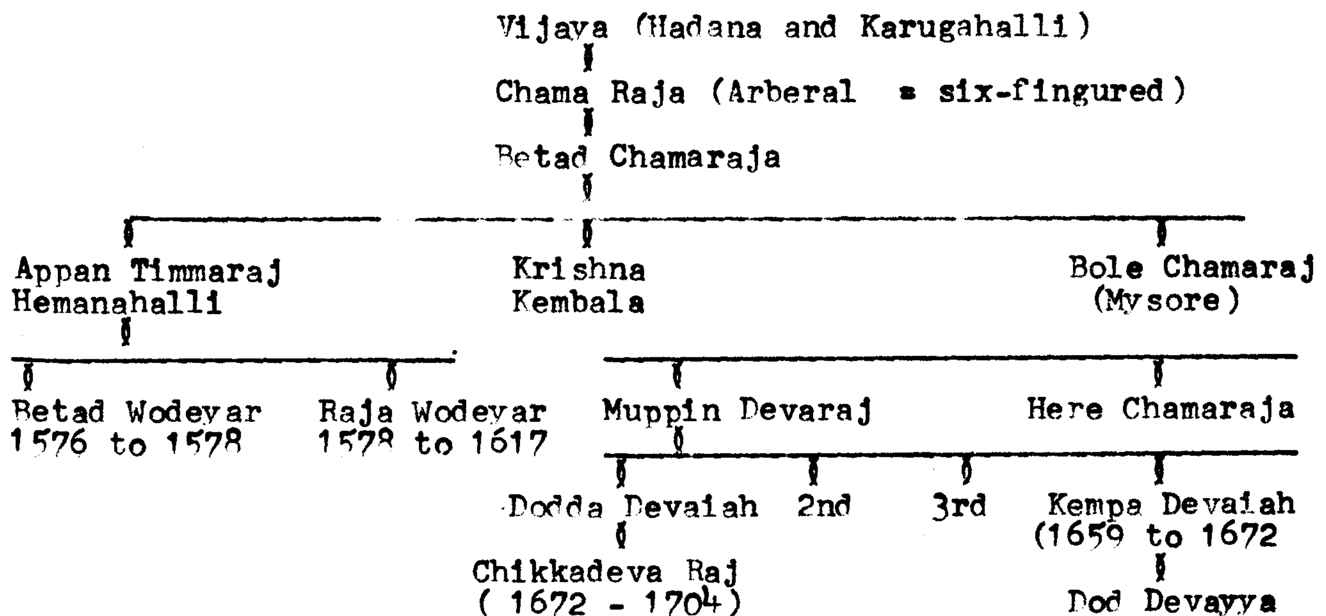
1. E.C. X, Kl 219. text, p. 72: Vijayabhyudaya salivahana saka varusangalu 1585 s'obhakruta samvatsarada vaisaka su 5 lu srimad rajadhi raja raja rajasri Sambhaji Raja Sahebaru Alambagiri Tippi Setti Varanasi Canne gaudagu kotta ...kodage sasana.
2. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.1, pp.83-84.

APPENDIX 2

The following is the genealogy of the Mysore Rajas as is depicted in Srirangapatna inscription 14, dated A.D. 1686 and continued in Sr.64 dated A.D. 1722. It corresponds to Sr. 151 dated A.D. 1679 and Sr. 100 dated A.D. 1724.



Wilks' genealogical Table.



Chikkadeva Raj
(1672 - 1704)

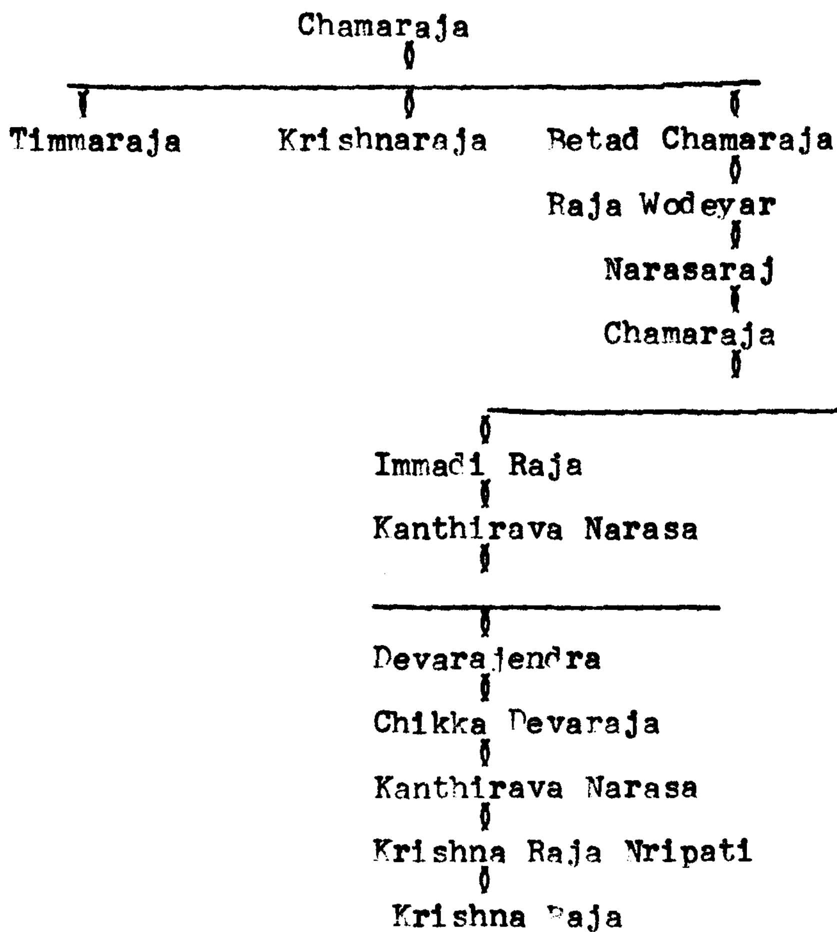
Kanthiravaraj (1704 to 1714)

Dod Krishna Raj (1714 to 1731)

Two usurpers Chamaraj (1732 to 1734)

Chikka Krishna Raj (1734 to 1766)

Dalavoy Grant No.63, Tirumakudlu Narasipur dated A.D. 1759 gives the following which agrees more closely with that in Wilks' History of Mysore.



Palace History

Yadu Raja (1399 to 1423)

Here Bettada Chamaraja Wodeyar (1423 to 1458)

Chamaraja Wodeyar

Timmaraja Wodeyar (1458 to 1478)

Here Chama Raja Wodeyar (1478 to 1513)

Betad Chamaraja (1513 to 1552)

Timmaraja (1552 to 1571)

Krishna Raja

Bole Chamaraja (1571 to 1576)

Betad Chamaraja (1576 to 1578)

Raja Wodeyar (1578 to 1617)

Muppina Devaraj

Chamaraj

Raja Wodevar

Kanthirava Narasa (1638-1659)

1 st

2nd

Doddadevaraja (1659 to 1672)

Narasaraja.

Bettada-Wodevar.

Nanjaraja

Chamaraja

Immada Raja 1637 to 1638

Chikkadevaraja (1672 to 1704)

Kanthirava Narasa

Kanthirava Narasa(1704 to 1713)

Dod Krishna Raja (1713 to 1731)

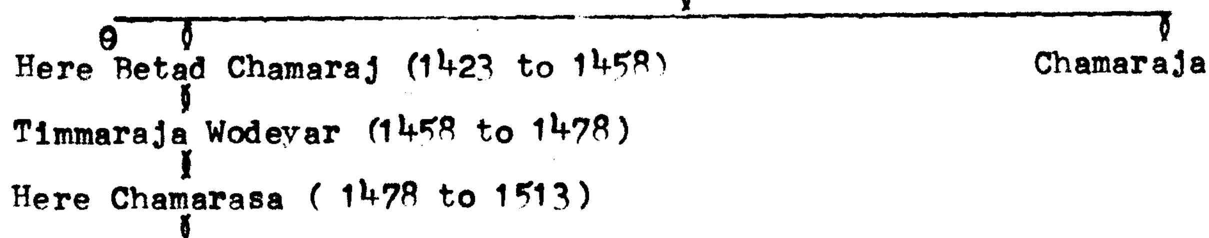
Chamaraja(1731 to 1734)

Chikkakrishna Raj(1734 to 1761)

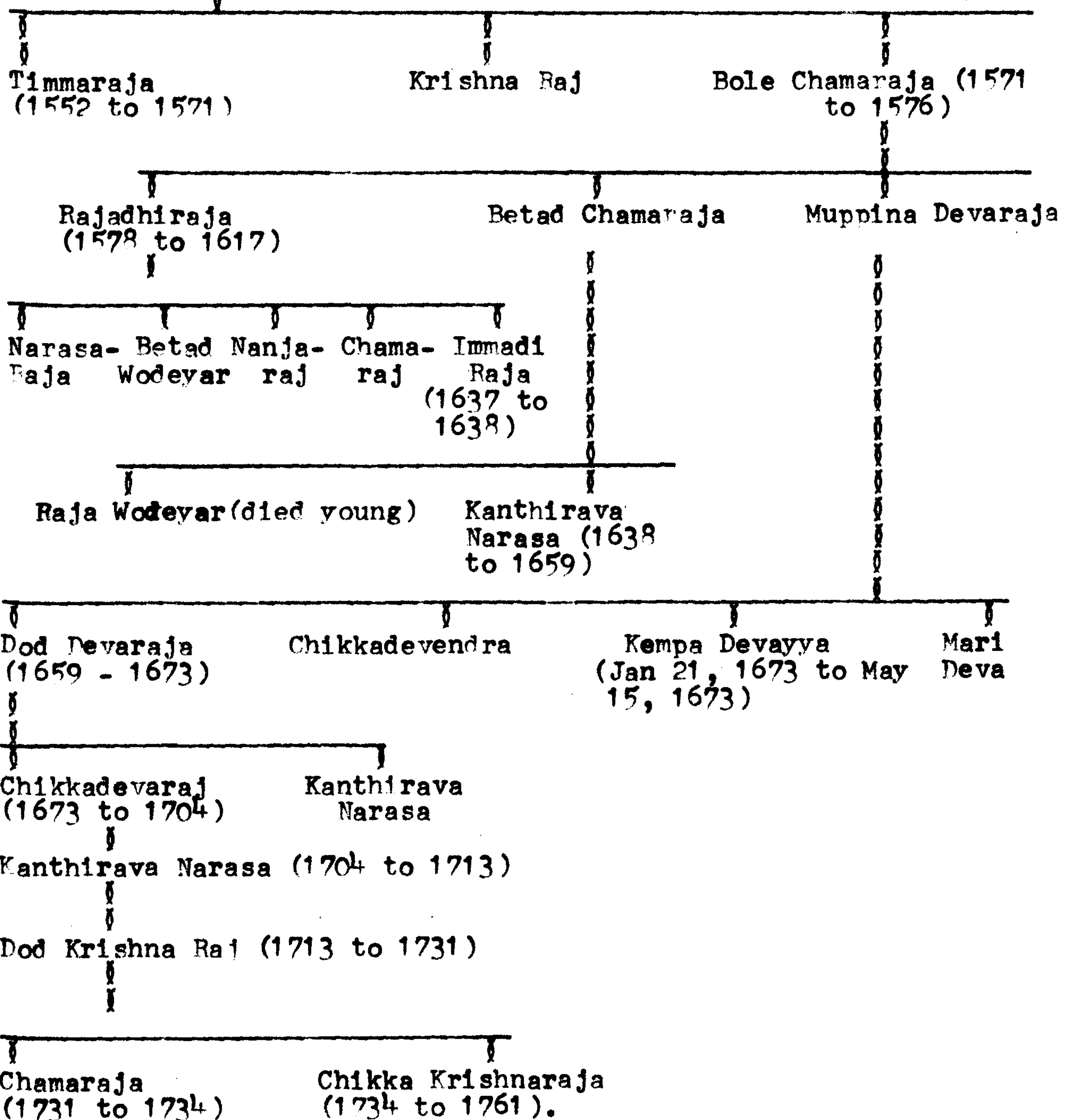
Both ~~of these~~ were adopted by the widow of Dod Krishna Raj.

The Genealogical table adopted in this work

Yadu (1399 to 1423)



Betad Chamaraja (1513 to 1552)



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APPENDIX 3

"No Man's Land" - refuted

Referring to the conquests of Shivaji during his return journey from Gingee to Maharashtra, J.N. Sarkar says that Shivaji attacked and took easy possession of his father's jagir districts Kolar, Hoskote, Bangalore, Doddaballapura and Sira in the eastern and central parts of the Mysore kingdom and put down the chieftains of that "No Man's Land".[1]

It is incorrect to say that those districts were "No Man's Land", for we have got sufficient evidences on hand to prove that those districts were controlled and ably administered by enterprising, war-like chieftains. For instance Kolar was committed to the charge of the Avatinad Prabhus and Sugatur Chieftains. Immadi Bairegowda, the son of Bairegowda, the Prabhu of Avatinad in 1640 was the contemporary of Shahji. Another contemporary chieftain of Shahji was Immade Chikkaraya Tammaya Gowdarayya of Sugatur in 1637.[2]

That several Maratha officials were placed over Kolar to carry on the administration can evidently be proved. A stone inscription of 1637 gives the name of the Maratha official as Srimantha Desa Kulakarni Samanna.[3]

1. J.N.Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, p. 308(1929 edition), Grant Duff: History of the Mahrattas, Vol.I, p. 281.
2. Epigraphia Carnatica, X, Sd.31, p. 183; Kl. 247, p. 69.
3. Ibid., Sd. 49, p. 185.

In 1653 Rajadhiraja Rajaxa Sambhaji Raja Maharaja's son Kannarayaji Pandita is said to have been made a gift of land to some one whose name is effaced in the record,[1] styling himelf as the agent (Karyakartha) of the emperor Sambhaji.

Kannarayji Pandita seemed to have governed the whole Kolar region ably and efficiently. There appears to have been a change in the official status of Prince Sambhaji. This can be seen in another inscription which says that Sambhajiraja is honoured with full royal titles such as Rajadhiraja Rajamanya Rajasri Sambhoji Raja Maharajarayva.[2]

It is known that Sambhaji[3] was the eldest son of Shahji who played a significant part in the politics of South Indian History from 1639 to 1664. After the death of Sambhaji in 1654 at Kanaka-giri, another Maratha by the same name succeeded to the Viceroyalty. He was the brother-in-law of Shahji as his sister was married to the latter.[4]

A stone inscription of 1660 makes mention of Sambhaji who granted a land to Antraji Pandita of Akaladarasa in Sugatur Hobli[5]

In 1662 Kolar sime was committed to the charge of Ekoji. This is proved by a stone inscription correctly dated 1662 by Rice, which says that during the rule of Enkoji (Ekoji) Raja, the havaldar

1. Ibid., 154, p. 111.
2. E.C., X, Kl., 193, p. 60.
3. See Chapterx Appendix 1.
4. Ibid.
5. E.C., X, Kl. 176, p. 57.

of Rahadurga, Baranaji Raja made a gift of land to Timmappa.[1]

Ekoji did not seem to have governed Kolar sime for a long time, for Sambhaji comes to assume the governorship of that district in the next year 1663. The stone inscription which throws fresh light on this, clearly says that Rajadhiraja Rajasri Sambhaji Raja Saheb made a gift of land to Alambigiri Tippi Setty & Varanasi Chennegauda.[2] This Sambhaji died in 1663.[3]

After the death of Sambhaji the administration of the district was devolved upon [redacted], Javita Bayiamma. A stone inscription says that in 1666 Javita Bayiamma, lawful wife of Sambhaji Raja made a gift of land to some one (named).[4] That she continued to rule over the district up to 1670 can be proved by an inscription of 1670 which refers to the gift of a land to some one (named) made by Jayita Bai, the wife of Sambhaji.[5]

But in 1673 the governorship of that district was placed under a Maratha official named Krishnappa. This can be clearly proved by an inscription dated 1673 which says that Maharajasri Desapande Krishnappa made a gift of land to one Nagarajappa.[6]

Krishnappa seems to have ruled district for about 5 years,

1. E.C. X. Sd. 47, p. 185.
2. Ibid., Kl.219, p.63.
3. See ~~Chapter~~ Appendix-I
4. Ibid., Kl.227, p.65. This inscription says that Sambhaji was the son of Sivaji Raja. ~~Probably this is an error for Shahji.~~
5. E.C., X, Kl.224, p. 64.
6. Ibid., Mb. 129, p. 109.

for in 1680 Sambhaji, the son of Shivaji comes to assume the governorship of the district. The inscription of 1680 mentions Sambhaji ordering one of his officials for grant of land to some one (named).[1] According to the above inscriptions, therefore, Kolar was continued to be governed by different Maratha officers since the establishment of the Maratha rule in Mysore.

Let us turn to Tumkur. Within the jurisdiction of the district of Tumkur was Sira which formed a part of Jagir that was bestowed on Shahji, father of the Great Shivaji by Adil Shah of Bijapur in 1639 in recognition for his selfless service in the Karnatic.[2]

A Persian inscription on the tomb of Malik Rihan dated 1651 definitely says that Sira was committed to the charge of the Adil Shahi Subedar named Malik Rihan who dedicted his life for the betterment of his district. It says that he came over there in 1637 to increase the beauty of his country. What is more interesting in this is that he is called the lord of the riches and powe - riches referring to the material prosperity that he increased and power referring to the efficient rule that he gave to his country.[3] Another Persian inscription copied at Sira refers to the constructio a mosque by Ali Nazr, a subordinate of Malik Rihan. It says:

> "This holy, grand, lofty and glorious mosque was built by Ali Nazr ....subordinate to Malik Raihan Mubarak".

1. Ibid., Mb. 117, p. 106.
2. See Muhammad Namah translated in Modern Review 1929 by J.N.Sarka
3. E.C. XII, Sira 66 b, p. 98.

This must have been constructed during the reign of Malik Rihan.[1] Another on a black slab kept in the courtyard of the big mosque gives A.D. 1657 as the date of the construction of another mosque.[2] The name of the Governor is not mentioned.

The capture of Bijapur by Aurangzeb in 1686 was followed by the conquest of the Karnataka districts dependent on it. Sira was made the capital of the new province south of the Tungabhadra. Khasim Khan was appointed the first governor. Khasim Khan governed Sira region with ability till 1698.[3]

Now it is clear that Shivaji during his Karnataka expedition had not conquered "No Man's Land" in the northern, central and eastern parts of the kingdom of Mysore, as has been held by J.N.Sarkar; but conquered districts held by enterprising and able chieftains.

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1. Archaeological Report of Mysore 1915, p. 57.
2. Ibid.
3. See Chapters on Sambhaji and Rajaram.

APPENDIX 4

Sambhaji in Mysore (1666-1680)

While we have some details concerning Raja Sambhaji's[1] activities after his enthronement in Maharashtra consequent on the death of his father Shivaji, we know practically little or nothing concerning his doings in Mysore before that event especially during the last 14 years of Shivaji's life. Several inscriptions found in Mysore State throw plenty of light on the activities of Sambhaji in Mysore before 1680.

According to Sabhasad Shivaji had two sons, the eldest of whom, born of Sai Bai, was called Sambhaji.[2] He saw light on 14 May 1657 at Purandar.[3] He seems to have been married when he was quite an young boy. His wife issued a grant in Kolar taluk. An inscription found at Huttur, Kolar taluk, dated 20th January A.D. 1666 says that "Javati Bavi Amma, lawful wife of Sambhaji Raja, the son of Sivaji Raja of the kausika gotra and Bhosla family made to Bhavuji Pant, a grant".[4] There is no room for discussion on the point of identity of Sambhaji for, the epigraph explicitly says

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1. Sarkar consistently spells Sambhaji as Shambuji, and Shambhu see his Shivaji and His Times (3rd ed) p. 142, 153 etc. but the Marathi, Kannada and Sanskrit records call him Sambhaji.
2. Sabhasad, Siva Chatrapaticen Caritra (1830), p.8.
3. Jedhe Sakavali in Shivaji Souvenir, p. 8.
4. E.C. X. Kl.227, p. 65. text, p.74: Vijayabhyudaya salivahana saka varusangalu 1588 ne visavavasu samvatrarada pusya ba. 10, davapunya kaladallu srimat kausikagotra Bhosala nila Sivaji rajara putrarada Sambhaji rajara kula stri Javita Baya ammanavar kotta bhudana.

that Sambhaji was the son of Shivaji Raja. The wife Javita Bai is the kannada version of Marathi Jeu Bai. Perhaps Javita Bai was married to Sambhaji when he was just 9 years old. Another inscription issued four years later by the same queen confirms the inference. That inscription was found at Jannapalli, Kolar taluk and dated Monday 21st March 1670. It states that by order of the queen (matusri) Javita Baviamma, the Sugatur hobali Havaldar Vithala Panditarava and Brahmans of the Agrahara made a grant.[1] According to these two epigraphs, Huttur and Sugatur in the Kolar taluk came to be administered by the Maratha power till 1670.

Now these two epigraphs do not make mention of Sambhaji's presence in person at the above mentioned places. On the contrary his wife's presence was clearly stated. Where exactly Sambhaji was? Whether he was in Maharashtra or Karnataka is the problem now to be solved. On the basis of Sabhasad, Sarkar says that "Shivaji took leave of his family at Rajgarh and began his journey to North India, about the third week of March, 1666, with his eldest son Shambhuju, seven chief officers and 4000 troops".[2] Towards the end of December in the same year he was at Rayagad. Then consequent on the agreement made in 1668 between Shivaji and Aurangzeb, Sambhaji was sent to the viceroy's court at Aurangabad. After an interview with the Viceroy, Sambhaji was made commander

1. Ibid., Kl.224, p. 64, text, p. 73: Sadharanada samvatsarada caitra su 10 - lu srimatu Javita baviamma navara appaneli Sugatura hobali Havaldara rajasri vithala pandita ravananavara runnu-agraharada mahajanangalu saha.........
2. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times (3rd ed), p. 142.

of 5000 and assigned a Jagir in Birar.[1] Therefore, according to Sabhasad Sambhaji had been away in north India and was not found in Mysore. How to reconcile the two sources of information? It is likely that Sambhaji went to Maharashtra from Mysore in order to accompany his father to the imperial court after handing over the responsibilities of the administration of Kolar to his wife Javita Bai. It may be questioned that how an young lady was placed to govern the territory? The answer is clearly supplied by the inscription which says that by the order of Javita Baiyamma a charitable grant was made by Vithala Pandita. This means that Vithala Pandita who had made the grant must have occupied a responsible position. In the light of this we can say that Vithala Pandita was acting as Chief Minister to help the inexperienced lady on the viceregal throne.

Nextly on the eve of the death of his father Shivaji in 1680 Sambhaji seems to have been in Mysore with his residence at Nandi from where, according to the epigraphic record, he repulsed the invasion of Muslims. To understand how Sambhaji had been to Nandi at the time of his father's death requires a slight retrospective study.

Sabhasad informs us how Shivaji called upon his son Sambhaji to bear the burden of the administration of some portion of distant Karnataka which he conquered during his daring southern expedition of 1677. Shivaji addresses his son as follows:- "Thou Sambhaji

1. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.1, pp. 183-184.

art one; and Rajaram is the second. So I shall divide all my kingdom into two. The kingdom of Gingee, stretching from Tungabhadra to the Kaveri, is one kingdom. The second is a kingdom on the other side of the Tungabhadra, extending up to the river Godavari. Such are the two kingdoms (I have). Thou art my eldest son, I confer on you the kingdom of the Karnatak; the kingdom on this side I give to Rajaram".[1] The newly conquered area of the Karnatak seems to have consisted te of seventy-nine forts which were newly conquered" by Shivaji, according to Sabhasad. Among these forts, districts of Kolar and Ballapura over the Ghats, besides Bhor, Kot, Kolar[2] figure prominently. The newly conquered Karnataka of Shivaji extended from the Tungabhadra right up to the Kaveri comprising several important districts like Kolar, Doddaballapur, Gingee and Vellore.[3] It was to this Karnatak area Sambhaji was invited by his dying father. At first Sambhaji obeyed the order of his father, but later changed his tone and refused the offer. How strongly Shivaji felt sad on the occasion can be clearly made out from his last words to his courtiers:[4] "I am going to Kailasa to see the Sri, feeling that my body was growing weak, I said to my eldest son Sambhaji - 'you two are my sons. I am dividing the kingdom between you and you two should live in amity'. So I said, but the eldest son Sambhaji Raje did not listen to (this counsel), it seems my end has come".[5] Shivaji then,

1. Sabhasad, op. ci., p. 78; Sen, op.cit., p. 132.
2. Ibid p. 15; Ibid p. 145.
3. Ibid p. 86; Ibid p. 148.
4. Ibid p. 78; Ibid p. 132.
5. Ibid p. 86; Ibid p. 148.

celebrated the marriage of Rajaram at Raygad on 15 March 1680[1] and on that occasion "the elder son, Sambhaji Raje, was not present".[2]

Shivaji died in the year 1680[3] and at that time Sambhaji was away. Where was Sambhaji at this time? To this, answer is supplied by the Mysore inscription. A record found at Nandi hill, Chikkaballapura Taluk, dated A.D. 1680 says:-

> "Obeisance to Nandiswara. In the east of the Karnataka country is the mountain named Nandi, very lofty and impregnable, with bnly one path, filled with Champaka, asvatha (trees). At the very top the huge cliff is adorned with a temple. In the Ballapura kingdom, the great mountain was made a hill fort, being reckoned a secure protection from the fear of enemies. In order to seize the hill fort, a Mlencha came with a great force but at length was beaten off greatly distressed. (On the date specified), Siva-Chatrapati's son Sambhaji-Raje is ruling here in peace. And the durgadhikari (or governor of hill forts) Balaji Krishna, governing the Jagadeva hill-forts, here, in pursuance of Raghunatha

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1. Jedhe Sakavali as cited in Shivaji Souvenir, p. 25.
2. Sabhasad, op.cit, p. 89; Sen, op.cit, p. 153.
3. Jedhe Sakavali as cited in Shivaji Souvenir, p. 25.

Pandita's orders, took over the command (or possession) of his fine hill fort".[1]

According to this inscription Sambhaji was living peacefully in Chikkaballapura in that year. This epigraph also implies that Sambhaji made Nandi hill as his summer resort as his grand father Shahji used to. Now the problem is who the daring Mlenchha was that besieged the fort? Mlenchha means a Muslim. So the Muslim that came as far as Nandi Hill was no other than Dilir Khan, the Mughal Commander.

In A.D. 1679 Dilir Khan declared war against the Sultan of Bijapur and caused incalculable havoc around the southern region of Bijapur; but his whole plan was shattered to pieces owing to the intrigues practised by Shah Alam relying on whose letter Aurangzeb wrote a strong letter to Dilir Khan as follows: "You have neither protected my dominions nor gained your object. Withdraw quickly from the siege of Bijapur".[2]

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1. E.C. X, CB 32, p. 205, text, p. 250:

Sri Nandisvarava namah
dese karnatake purve parvato Nandi namakah
aty unnato abhedvar cha margenaikena samyutah
champakavastha - naringa tamalaih paritas sritah
atyuchchrayo maha - vapro devalaya + vibhushitah
rajve Ballapurasyaiva durgam kritva maha girim
mene satru bhavat tratum svavam asti vinischitam
grihitam durgam agrahyam Mlenchho bahu balanvitah
agama .... tato Jatah taditotvanta vimhvalah
......Sakabda - sahasram dvi-tri-sata-dve-varse
Raudrau S'ravana suddha Shashth, vam
Budhe cha vare Siva - chhatrapateh kumaro Sambhoji rad atra mudanu s asti
durgadhikari - Jagadeva - sudurgakani Balaji Krishno hy anusasti vatra
ajnanusari Raghunatha - supanditasya jagraha durgottama yajamanvam

The date is worked out by Swamikannu Pillai, An Indian Ephemeris Vol.VI, p. 163.

In the meanwhile, on the 30 Nov. 1679 Sambhaji escaped from Bijapur.[1] On 29 January 1680, losing all hope of fighting against Bijapur, Dilar Khan retraced his steps. When his hopes were foiled, Dilir Khan gave vent to his worst passions and roamed about like a mad dog, slaving and looting. During his return journey he besieged Sagar but being defeated by Ram Navak its ruler, he was disgraced and recalled, while returning he moved northwards along the east side of Bijapur perpetrating horrible cruelties on the populace.[2]

Sambhaji was ruling peacefully in Chikkaballapura which is fairly a big town, 36 miles north-west of Kolar. We know on the 21 February 1680 Dilir Khan, having sustained defeat at the hands of Ram Nayaka, moved northwards. It was from Sagar which lies north-west of Mysore that the Khan was driven out. It is possible that Dilir Khan heard about Sambhaji, staving in Chikkaballapura and therefore decided to attack him. It is likelv that he had never forgotten the hide and seek which Sambhaji played in the previous year. Therefore Dilir Khan made a sudden dash on the hill fort with all his forces but as the epigraphic record points out "was beaten off greatly distressed" by Krishnaji Pant, Governor of the fort under Sambhaji. The Muslim general has therefore, been contemptuously stvled in this inscription as a Mlenchha which implie

(Foot note continued from previous page).
2. Basatin as Salatin 432 as cited in Sarkar's Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, p. 166.

1. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, Vol. IV, p. 164.
2. Ibid., pp. 168-171. (B.S.436).

merely a non-Hindu. No other general invaded any part of Maratha kingdom in this portion of Karnataka in this year. According to Khafi Khan two princes, Akbar and Muazzam came as far as Baglan[1] part of Sambhaji's territory but no mention is made of the prince Akbar, as having come to any part of the Mysore State, much less Chikkaballapura. The other prince, Muhammad Muazzam was ordered by Aurangzeb, after his arrival at Aurangabad in A.D. 1681 "to reduce the fort of Salir near the fort of Malir in Baglan which had been held for sometime by the Marathas. Prince Muazzam penetrated into Konkan .... laid waste in all directions ...."[1(a)] But he was soon recalled. Here also Khafi Khan makes no mention of prince Muazzam invading the Mysore territory where Maratha interest was dominant. Therefore it is clear that the Mlenchha referred to was Dilir Khan.

The next point for consideration is from what date Sambhaji had been ruling at Chikkaballapura and during which month the battle really took place between Dilir Khan and Sambhaji.

According to Sabhasad, Sambhaji was not present by the side of his father at the time of the latter's death.[2] It is known that in A.D. 1668 Sambhaji was appointed commander of 5,000 horse and sent to Berar. Sabhasad says for two years a Maratha contingent of one thousand horse under Pratap Rao Gujar, lived in

1. Elliot and Dowson, History of India, VII, p. 309.
1(a)Ibid., p. 311.
2. Sabhasad, op.cit, p. 89, Sen, op.cit., p. 149.

Berar "feeding themselves at the expense of the Mughal dominion".[1] But as soon as he heard of his father's death, as Khafi Khan relates, he proceeded to his country: "When Sivaji was dead his wretched son Sambha desired to surpass his father. He raised the standard of rebellion and on 15 February 1680, he attacked Kakar Khan Afghan, who acted as the Collector of Jizya, under Khan Zaman, the Subhedar of the Dakhin. Sambha was returning with nearly 20,000 men from a plundering expedition in Berar. He made a forced march ..... and made his attack, while his victims were entirely ignorant of his approach. Thus he fell upon Bahadurpur".[2] But owing to a misunderstanding, the Mughal general failed to attack Sambhaji, who, evading the Mughals, went t Salir (Saller) in Baglan".[3] From this account of Khafi Khan it is clear that until the 15 February 1680, Sambhaji was not in Chikkaballapura and that he must have arrived at his place probably towards the end of the month. An English letter written from the Bombay council to Surat, on 28 April 1680 says "we have certain news that Shivaji Rajah is dead, it is now 23 days since he diseased .... Sambhaji Rajah is at Panhala".[4] Therefore it is evident that the driving away of the Mlenchha as is mentioned in the inscription must have taken place between February and April of1680 and that Sambhaji was in Chikkaballapura from the end of February upto the 3rd week of April 1680.

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1. Ibid.
2. Elliot and Dowson: History of India as told by her own Historians, Vol.VII, p. 306.
3. Ibid., p. 307.
4. Sarkar: House of Shivaji, p. 216.

The date given in the epigraph falls on 21 July 1680.[1] Relying on this calculated date, we can not certainly say that Sambhaji continued to be in Chikkaballapura from the end of February to 21 July 1680, for as already pointed out we have got the Factory record which says that by 28 April 1680 Sambhaji was at Panhala. Further Jedhe Sakavali says that "on 18 June 1680, Sambhaji entered Raigad, assumed powers and imprisoned Rajaram; and on 20 July 1680 ascended the throne".[2] Therefore what we can infer from the above statements is that while Sambhaji was seated on the throne of Raygad peacefully, he ordered his officer in the Karnatak to issue the inscription in his name on 21 July 1680. Therefore the inscription is dated 21 July 1680.

Now we shall examine whether the statements regarding Maratha officers mentioned in the epigraph are correct. The epigraph says that Balaji Krishna who was in charge of Jagadeva hill forts, in pursuance of Raghunath Pandita's orders, took over the command of the fort of Chikkaballapura itself. This statement is amply corroborated by Sabhasad who says that after defeatin Venkoji with the assistance of Hambir Rao, Raghunath Pant, dismissed him and sent him over to his master Shivaji. Then, "Raghunath Pant himself, on that side, raised an army of 10,000 horse, Paga and Silledar in the Karnatak and lived there and maintained th kingdom.[3] The flight of Ekoji took place in July 1677[4] and

1. Sakabda Sahasram dvi-tri-Sata-dve-varshe Raudra Sravana-Suddh, Shashthyam, Budhe Cha Vare.
2. Shivaji Souvenir, p. 25.
3. Sabhasad, op.cit. p.76; Sen, op.cit., pp. 128-129.
4. Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, pp. 237-238; Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, pp. 304-305.

Shivaji must have occupied this region in the same year.[1] Therefore it is evident that Balaji Krishna took charge of the fort of Chikkaballapura in obedience to the orders of Raghunatha Narayan who was placed in charge of Karnatak by Shivaji.

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1. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, pp. 311-312,

APPENDIX 5

Influence of Kavi Kalasa on Sambhaji

There are periods in history which have acquired a distinctive character and tendency through the life and influence of certain outstanding individuals. The advent of Sambhaji in the Karnataka was such an event of great significance. The politcal framework of Mysore was affected greatly by the emergence of this Maratha who lacked magnanimity and resourcefulness of his father. Very early Sambhaji came under the influence of Kavi Kalasa. In deciding matters of peace and war Kavi Kalasa was the chief guide and adviser to Sambhaji. The latter was only a puppet in the hands of Kavi Kalasa.

In determining the destiny of Sambhaji, the influence of Kavi Kalasa - Prince of Poets, who adorned the Maratha court could not be overlooked. Who this Kalasa was? Grant Duff,[1] and J. N. Sarkar[2] and several other

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1. History of the Mahrattas, Vol. I, pp. 317-318.
2. Aurangzeb, Vol. IV, pp. 253-254.

scholars on Maratha history have unhesitatingly accepted that Kalasa[1] was a great scholar and won a great influence over the mind of the prince, and was the pivot of the entire Maratha administrative machinery. Further they say that Kalasa was deeply versed in Sanskrit theology, enjoyed the honour of a Pandit and was dignified to the title of Chandogamatya - expounder of the Vedas. Though these scholars give a long description of his qualifications, they do not specifically say who this Kavi Kalasa ~~was~~ is. Sardesai, praising Kavi Kalasa as a scholar of deep learning and erudition says that, "popular tradition in Maharashtra charges Kalusha with having been the Emeror's spy, slyly trying to bring about Sambhaji's ruin. There is absolutely no proof to support such an allegation".[2]

But we have enough of historical proof to say that Kavi Kalasa was a spy employed by Aurangzeb to destroy Sambhaji. Keladi Nripa Vijaya says that "Aurangzeb being indignant at the attitude of Sambhaji had been planning to effect the capture of the prince dead or alive. Having realised that such a mighty and powerful Sambhaji would not submit to him unless he could resort to magic and incantation for his capture. Aurangzeb conceived a plan. Immediately Aurangzeb summoned ~~to his presence of~~ a Kannoji Brahmin named Kabji and instructed him secretly thus: "you go to Sambhaji and try to win him over by any means - fair or foul. Do not come here if you do not capture him dead or alive".

1. He is often called by the name of Kub Kulus or Kablis Khan (See Grant Duff: H.M. Vol., p. 317, F.N.) See also Hodiwala's Studies in Indo-Muslim History (1939), pp. 655-656.
2. New History of the Marathas, VolI, pp. 300-301.

Honouring the Brahmin with costly jewels and presents; and holding out ~~promises of~~ prospects of further booty and position, Aurangzeb despatched him from his Imperial headquarters "to Panhala'[1] From this we may gather that Kabji alias Kavi Kalasa was deliberatel employed by Aurangzeb as a spy to bring about the ruin of Sambhaji. This Kannada account was fully supported by English writings. Edward Scott Waring says: "Aurangzeb found that he had little hope of subduing Sambhaji by open and honourable warfare. He resorted to other means; and .... his favourite Kub Kulus or Cablis Khan .... was selected by Aurangzeb as a fit instrument to execute his plan".[2]

Obedient to the orders of **his master, Kavi** Kalas, a Kannoji Brahmin, arrived in Pannali and sent confidential officers to Sambhaji to say that a Shrotriya Brahmin, well versed in all sciences had come to Pannali; and by making this self-introduction, he interviewed Sambhaji and monopolised his trust. By making an honourable entry into Sambhaji's heart at the very first sight, Kavi Kalasa gradually enlisted the love, affection and confidence of the Prince. Further he held out before the prince prompt promises of reducing all the powerful enemies around him by means

1. Ke.N.V., Chapt. IX, p. 158, Verses, 68, 69-70:
   68: Sambhaji Akhila mukhagalolantavanupatalavanesage Thamra-mukhadhisam thavakeraldavana pididantike kevdisuvupaya-mentenutirdam.
   69: Antendalochisi Bala saliyagi varthisuthirpa Sambhaji Maya-tantravanoddidallade tanage vasanaganendu nischavisi balikkondupatvantaramam nenedu.
   70: Barisuttagale Kabjinamakada Kannoji dvijadhishanam Vara-sambhaji vanavde sardavana ninentadodam vasagavdiradenna-lige Barpolagipudenutte-kantadolmanadim toredistarthavanit' bilkodal.
2. History of the Mahrattas, p. 117.

of magic and incantation over the science of which he was a thorough master. By performance of hideous rites, charms, magic and incantation he possessed Sambhaji's mind. The fool-capped prince preferred the company of the bad to that of a wise, experienced and important officers.[1] Thus Sambhaji grew extreme distrustful of his father's faithful servants. He lost himself in loose talks and low tastes. Getting the subjection of the prince to his will, Kavi Kalasa made Sambhaji a thorough master of the whole debaucherous gang. In the midest of pretty virgins in succession, he entirely forgot the world with which he was mostly concerned.[2]

Maratha sources entirely agree with the account given in Kannada source.[3] "He (Kavi Kalasa) plied Sambhaji with wine, bhang and opium .... procured for him an endless succession of pretty and lascivious women", say Kincaid and Parasnis.[4] Although it is possible to conclude that Kavi Kalasa was the spy of Aurangz employed to destrov Sambhaji, more corroborative evidences are necessary to establish the truth.

1. Ke.N.V., IX, p. 158, Verse 71: Intu Kabji pratinama Kavi Kalas nemba Kannoji Brahmanam Pannaligaydi sarva vidva sampannanappa srotriva Brahmananavthandirpanendu sampavarthi samajikarim Sambhajigarushisi Balikkatana bhetivam kondu dinadinadolavanga tipriti patranenisuvartisuthirdu samastha Satrugalam ninage padakrantagaragi bidadolagipantu Japa purascharana homangalam malpenendadavadisi .....mantra .....tantra.....nana pravoga-mukhadinda Sambhajirajanam vasikarisi.....buddhisalingalappa samajikara matam kelade ksudrajanarkela bhedadindoladutam.
2. Ibid., IX, Verse 72: Strilolanagi Kabjiya Jaladolam silki Jaranijayakkelam Mula guruvenisi tam Jala Keliyanesaguttu mint varthisutridam.
3. Grant Duff: History of the Mahrattas, Vol.I, pp. 317-318.
4. A.H.M.P., p.127. See and Compare Sardesai: N.H.M., Vol.I, p.30 and Sarkar: History of Aurangzeb, Vol.IV, p. 254.

APPENDIX 6

A letter of Portuguese Viceroy

The Portuguese viceroy in a letter written on January 16th 1691 at Goa to the king of Portugual describes the condition of Bednur when it was surrounded by the Mughals: "The Mughal king, after having captured Sambhaji, put him to death and proceeded with the conquests of his territories; but as his brother Rajaram escaped from the mountain of Panhala which the Mughal had besieged, he ordered that a division of this army under his son princ Sultan Tara should chase. The prince surrounded the queen of Kanara who was reported to have allowed Rajaram to pass through her kingdom in such a way that the latter after taking several of her fortresses and entering her court at Bednur had compelled her to retreat and seek peace, surrendering three fortresses out of those which she had in the Ghats and belonged to king Adil Shah and offering to pay him in three years 18 lakhs of pagodas which are more than 18 millions. She immediately handed over to him six lakhs representing the first year's instalment. The Mughal Emperor, being appraised of this did not feel satisfied, for his intention was to conquer the kingdom of Kanara as he had conquered those of Bijapur and Golkonda".[1]

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I. I.H.P.C. Pr., Vol. XVII, 1940.

APPENDIX 7

Santaji's invasion of Mysore

(1696)

Hayavadana Rao says that Mysore was not invaded by Santaji in 1696.[1] His argument was that Mysore was subjected to Maratha onslaught in 1682 but not in 1696. His evidences are: 1) Srirangapatna Temple Copper plate grant, dated 19 November, 1686 which alludes to the Maratha invasion of Srirangapatna by Dadaji Jaitaji and Nimbaji; 2) The local chronicles which reveal that Kumaraiya was in the office of Dalavoyship upto 26 May, 1682; 3) Letters of Fort St.George (1682) and of Jesuits (1682) which say that Kumaraiya was in Trichinopoly with a major portion of the Mysore army at a time when Marathas invaded Srirangapatna (1682); 4) Sakala Vaidya - Samhita Sararnava (1714-1720 by Viraraja of Kalale and Andhra Vachana Bharatamu - Sabhaparvamu (1731).

By making a comparative study of conflicting sources, Wilks also writes that there was only one Maratha invasion in 1680-1682. It is true that Mysore was invaded by the Maratha Generals like Dadaji, Jaitaji and Nimbalkar during 1680-1682 when the major portion of the Mysore army was away from the capital but it is incorrect to say that Mysore was not invaded by the Marathas in 1696.

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1. History of Mysore, Vol. I, Appendix VI (1), pp. 550-551.

On the following evidences, I offer to say that Mysore was invaded by Santaji in 1696. A letter of Fort St.George of 1696 says that Santaji is cantoning at Seerpe with his army to oppose the entrance of the Mughal army into the Carnatic.[1] Yet another letter of Fort St.George of 1696 says that Zulfikar Khan under the orders of the Emperor had pursued Santaji to Mysore.[2] Chikkadevaraja Binnapam specifically mentions the name of Santaji who was defeated by Chikkadevaraja.[3] Sarkar, on the basis of Persian sources, says that Santaji entered the region of central Mysore being closely followed by Zulfikar Khan.[4] Therefore, it is possible to conclude that Santaji invaded Mysore in 1696.

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1. Records of Fort St.George, Letters from Fort St.George, 1696, p. 29, No.34.
2. Ibid., Diary and Consultation Book, 1696, p. 166.
3. C.Bin., pp. 58-59.
4. History of Aurangzeb, Vol. V, p. 104.

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